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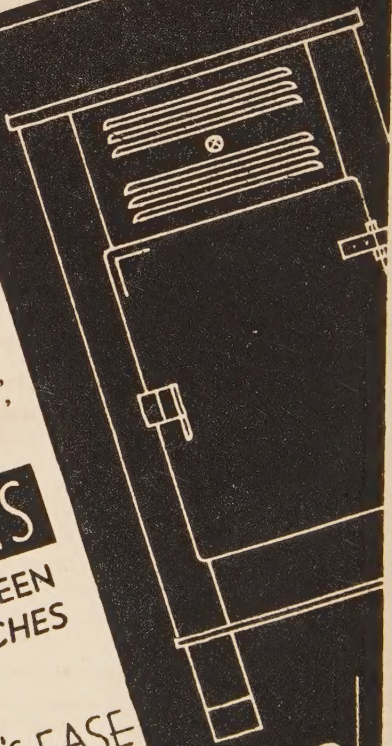

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The second basic position is this: one frequently hears Catholics talking as if Capitalism were something intrinsically wrong in itself—something, if not actually condemned by the Church, at least unworthy of finding favour and defence amongst Catholics. This is an attitude of mind difficult to understand, because both Leo XIII and Pius XI have gone out of their way to declare that

Capitalism is neither bad in itself nor to be condemned by Catholics. Capitalism has been abused and is actually being abused; but the abuse of a thing or an institution is not a reason for pronouncing it to be intrinsically wrong. The cry "Cherchez le Capitaliste" is like the Nazi cry "Cherchez le Juif" or the anti-clerical cry "Cherchez le Jésuite."

The third and final position is that the social problem is not a question of economic technique at all, that our present troubles do not arise from any strictly economic flaw and cannot therefore be solved by any readjustment of economic machinery—such as tariffs, credit, banking, rationalisation. For the last four or five years we have heard from various quarters of the imminent collapse of Capitalism; but it seems to me that Capitalism as an economic system was never so strong as it is to-day. Instead of dealing it a death-blow, the events of the last few years have rather proved its inherent vitality and remarkable power of recuperation. There are, of course, many points in the system which urgently call for reform; but these are cankerous growths, which can be removed by the surgeon's knife. What is wrong is the social organization, which is using or misusing the capitalistic technique of production for anti-social ends; in other words, the problem is a sociological, not an economic problem. And if anything should wake us up to this fact, it is a careful study of *Quadragesimo Anno*. The very title of that encyclical is "On the Reconstruction of the Social Order"—not of the economic system. Only once or twice does the Pope mention Capitalism; but on nearly every page he speaks about the "social order," "social reorganization," "social institutions."

Historical Survey of Catholic Social Theory

The gradual transformation of civil society in Western Europe, from being a moral organism with its own internal unity and cohesion to being a structure of disparate and

warring elements mechanically held together like a horde, led to that five-fold effort at reform which characterises the nineteenth century. It is not easy to date the commencement of this transformation to the individualistic form of society; but it was certainly in full flood in the middle of the eighteenth century, even before the Industrial Revolution had properly begun. The writings of both French and English philosophers, eminent among them Burke, clearly show that they were quite conscious of what was happening. It was not, however, till the French Revolution had suppressed the Guilds and thus destroyed the organic form of French society, that opposition to Individualism became truly vocal. But then, early in the nineteenth century and all through its course, a steady anti-individualistic tide began to flow, which soon developed extraordinary momentum and power. This opposition is, generally, divided into five "schools": (1) Catholic Romantic; (2) Socialist and Communist; (3) Social Reformist; (4) Protestant Christian Socialist; (5) Pre-*Rerum Novarum* Catholic School, which was split into two sections—the "liberals" and the "conservatives." We have to concern ourselves only with the Catholic Schools.

The Romantic School was represented in Germany by Müller and Baader and in France by Joseph de Maistre and Villeneuve-Bargemont. Of the early years of this school nothing need be said. Its leader, Müller, died in 1829; and then his teaching was taken up and developed by Jorg and Vogelsang. These two worked out a social philosophy based on the belief that the Middle Ages had created the ideal system; and their prejudices in favour of medieval views not only induced them to support the restoration of the Guilds, but also led them into some serious errors, which have ever since haunted Catholic writers on social questions. It was they, for instance, who started the doctrine, recently repudiated in *Quadragesimo Anno*, that the Roman Law concept

of private property must be rejected and be replaced by what they called a " Christian " or " feudal Germanic " concept. It was they, too, who began that attack on interest as usury which has within the last ten years, despite the Canon Law, been once more revived. But their main efforts were rightly directed to bring about a reorganization of society on " vocational corporative " lines, as being the one sure means to counteract the effects of Individualism.

With the advent of Marxian Socialism the Catholics split into two schools : one strongly conservative, that fled from all state intervention in the solving of the social question as being but the thin end of the wedge of complete State Socialism ; the other distinctly liberal, seeing in state intervention the best means to bring about any reform. The matter came to a head in 1883 at a famous conference in Vogelsang's ancestral castle at Haid, which embodied and published its resolutions in an epoch-making document, the Haider Theses. From then on, for eight years, till the publication of *Rerum Novarum* in 1891 there was a continued, but friendly, controversy in various conferences and unions, of which the most famous was the Union of Fribourg. As time went on and as the social question became more acute, the tension between the Catholics became more noticeable, and regrettable things were said on each side, till it looked as if a definitive break and an accusation of heresy would result. It was then that Decurtins of the Union of Fribourg made, in 1890, his appeal in the Swiss Parliament for an international code of labour legislation, which was followed in February 1891 by the Kaiser's famous letter to Leo XIII and in March by Leo's equally famous answer. This answer was itself followed on the 15th May by the publication of *Rerum Novarum.*

Vogelsang had died in 1890, and so he was saved from what would have been a considerable disappointment to him. Though none of the doctrines of his school was

explicitly condemned, not one of them received full approval. He had held that Capitalism and, especially, the wage-system were intrinsically bad—and only tolerated by the Church. *Rerum Novarum*, on the contrary, accepted Capitalism as a legitimate system and explicitly declared the wage-system to be in itself quite just. Vogelsang had held that the theologians of the Catholic Church had allowed a pagan concept of ownership to creep into their teachings through the influence of Roman Law, whereas the truly Christian concept was the Germanic feudal one. *Rerum Novarum*, while (out of respect for Vogelsang's great work) it did not condemn this, accepted and taught the traditional Catholic doctrine on private property. Vogelsang held that interest on such things as debentures, etc., was usury and could be only tolerated by the Church as she had formerly tolerated slavery. There was not a word about this in *Rerum Novarum*, nor yet about another favourite idea of his, the binding of the peasant proprietors to the land—in other words, the restoration of serfdom. One item only of Vogelsang's programme, but that the most important, was given the approval of the encyclical—in a modified form it is true—and that was the corporative organization of society. As this was Vogelsang's chief point, he might well have been satisfied. The wording of the encyclical on this point is very carefully chosen ; but its implications will be quite clear to those who know the history of social doctrines in the Church. Many people in English-speaking countries, not having followed the pre-history of the encyclical, only saw in the Pope's remarks on workingmen's and employers' associations an approval of the trade-union movement. Their implications received fuller development in *Quadragesimo Anno*.

Rerum Novarum brought a certain amount of unity among Catholics, as it was meant to do. But the influence of Vogelsang was enormous. Not only in Austria, where he dominated all social thought, but also in Germany—

and even in France and Belgium—writers kept on producing books which were and are little more than a rehash of his doctrines. After the War the terrible economic sufferings in Central Europe, and especially in Austria, led to a vigorous revival of Vogelsang's doctrines, and a sharp controversy once more broke out among Catholic sociologists on the questions of property, interest, credit, just wage and corporative organization. All the old teachings of the eighties of the last century were brought forth again and debated with a certain amount of heat. For ten years this controversy went on in Austria and Germany, and once more the accusations of "heresy" and "heretic" began to be used. Several attempts were made to bring the warring schools together and to unite them on a common and definite programme. Even the Malines Union (founded in 1920) could effect little; for the representatives of the Vogelsang school were not members and did not contribute to the drafting of its *Code Social*—though, of course, they accepted practically everything in that prudently worded document. A meeting was arranged at Vienna in 1929 and again in 1930, to which Father Vermeersch, the veteran sociologist and professor of Moral Theology in the Gregorian University, was sent in the hope of bringing about unity—but in vain. And so in 1931 Pius XI, to secure harmony (as he himself says) among Catholic writers on social questions, issued his encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, in which the Catholic doctrine on private property and the corporative organization of society occupies the central place, though wage problems and one or two other points are also dealt with.

INDIVIDUALISM, COLLECTIVISM, SOLIDARISM

The doctrine of the corporative organization of society, of "Vocational Corporations," does not stand alone: it is but part of a much larger body of doctrines; it is embedded in Catholic social philosophy as a whole, and cannot be adequately appreciated except in so far as it

is considered in its relations to other parts of that philosophy. So far as I am aware, there has been only one attempt to work out that philosophy as a scientific system : an attempt which resulted in the doctrine known as Solidarism, developed by a distinguished German economist and sociologist, Father Heinrich Pesch, S.J., in the second decade of this century. Solidarism is a complete economic and social doctrine, and as such takes its stand beside Individualism and Collectivism as an exposition and explanation of man's social nature. In order, therefore, to light up the specific features of Solidarism, it will be necessary to sketch briefly the salient points of Individualism and Collectivism.

According to Individualism human society is merely a collection of isolated, self-sufficient (autocratic) and self-answerable (autonomous) individuals, who are held together in a group in a purely external and mechanical way. Society, in other words, is a " horde " kept together by material or utilitarian considerations. The individual, therefore, becomes " the be-all and end-all," and this over-emphasising of his personal worth, of his absolute supremacy, led to an exaggerated estimation of liberty, which was strengthened by the wide acceptance of the theory of biological evolution. This latter theory, with its doctrine of the struggle for life and the survival of the fittest, was soon applied to the social sphere, where the play of free competition eliminated the least fit from the economic body by the so-called process of Natural Selection. In economics the most significant feature of Individualism is the belief that the private gain or profit of the individual is the main end and object of the economic system. The ruthless egoism of this doctrine is softened by a complementary doctrine of optimism : if only the selfish instincts of the individual are allowed to work themselves out and are not crippled by the interference of the State, then the world will soon reach the maximum of prosperity and harmony possible in each stage of

civilisation. The individual is of such supreme worth and is at the same time so equipped by nature that he should be left to himself to work out his salvation without interference on the part of the community as such. The State, as Lassalle bitterly put it, is merely a "police-state"; its duty is to keep the ring clear, to see that certain rules and conventions are observed, so that the least fit shall be eliminated in the struggle for life. Without this struggle, so the theory teaches, the best possible utilisation of the material resources of the world will never be attained nor will the talents and powers of man be ever fully developed, so that progress will come to a standstill.

This theory, of course, was never fully put in practice: its nearest realisation was in the early part of the nineteenth century. The conscience of humanity revolted against it and imposed checks on it. False in its fundamental principles, it is cruel, brutalising, hate-engendering and precarious in its practice. It does not follow nature nor perfect it; it perverts nature and results in a concealed form of jungle-life, red in tooth and claw. But there are some grains of truth in it, which we must seek and preserve.

As a reaction against Individualism arose Collectivism in all its forms. It is in many ways the more human, the less unnatural philosophy, though its actual practice has often been sullied by cruelty and crime. If the cold, calculating head dominates Individualism, the warm, emotional heart may be said to dominate Collectivism. It is a remarkable fact that among its advocates have frequently been found men of noble character, of high ideals, of human sympathy and self-sacrifice—Plato, Sir Thomas More, Robert Owen, William Morris, and many others. Collectivism is based essentially on an undervaluing of the worth and importance of the individual, so that practically, if not theoretically, it denies the supreme right of personality. The individual is com-

pletely subordinated to the community, becoming much the same as a bee in a bee-hive or an ant in an ant-colony. His liberty and rights depend completely upon the interests of the community; the community will look after him, feed him, house him and all the rest, but will use him too as a tool for its own ends, should it need him. The community alone possesses primary and absolute value; the individual derives whatever value he has from his relation to the community—he is just a part or unit, in a whole, a cog in a wheel. All this involves, logically, a denial of the supernatural, a denial of the spirituality and immortality of the soul; it does not leave place for even a diluted Deism—in its essence Collectivism involves atheism. It is no exaggeration to say that in theory at least—and in some degree in practice, if we are to judge from Russia—individual men and women stand to the State in much the same relation as the more vauable type of farm animal (a pedigree horse or bull) stands to the farmer: he cares for them, he insures them—but not precisely for their good, but for his own advantage. Collectivism is a distortion of the social sense in man, a caricature of that sense gone mad and debased to the level of the herd instinct of certain animals or insects. But this perversion is, in a certain sense, an understandable reaction against the brutal consequences of the complete stifling of the social sense under Individualism; it is a natural rebellion of the so-called "unfit" against the implied superiority of the "fit"—*i.e.*, of those who can achieve material success under individualistic conditions. If the Individualist is a rationalist in his final objective, he can often be a sentimentalist in his choice of means; and if the Collectivist is a sentimentalist in his final objective, he can be a ruthless rationalist in his choice of means. Neither of them is human, and what man most wants and always wants—from the cradle to the grave—is the milk of human kindness.

For that milk of human kindness we turn to Solidarism,

the attitude of the *philosophia perennis*—the viewpoint of the Realist, who is neither a Rationalist nor a Sentimentalist, but is just human; who claims that the head and the heart must have their say—both must see life steadily and see it whole. It is the boast of the Solidaristic School, founded on the Aristotelian-Scholastic Philosophy and arguing with an intellect illumined by faith, that it can give a truer, a more beautiful and more satisfying solution to our social problems than has been offered by either Individualism or Collectivism. But in the space at my disposal I cannot hope to give an adequate summary of the Solidaristic system, seeing that it covers both economic technicalities and sociological principles. On the economic side it accepts, with certain important reforms in detail, the main lines of the capitalistic technique of production. But on the sociological side it is implacably opposed to both Individualism and Collectivism—in fact so opposed that it can find no common ground for discussion, seeing that its concept of man and human society is essentially different from those of the other two.

The Principles of Solidarism

A brief exposition of the main principles on which Solidarism is built will give the reader an idea, though very imperfect, of the system. The first and most fundamental principle is a recognition of a certain dualism in man. Man is a person, and his personality is perhaps the most noble of his possessions, for it makes him an image of the Divine Persons in God. This personality gives man a supreme value, endows him with a certain independence of all created things, subordinates him to God alone in the pursuit of his last end. As a person man has an eternal and supernatural end to pursue, for the winning or losing of which he—and he alone—is responsible before God. And this very fact gives and guarantees to him all the necessary means, rights, privileges, liberty, independence which will enable him

to gain this supremely important end. The Church has always insisted on this side of man's nature. It is precisely on this account that she defends the inviolability of private property, liberty of association, family life, education, and the half-dozen other essential rights of man—fearlessly repudiating the claims of the State to complete control of these matters. Her watchword is "Hands off whatever threatens the personality, the personal good of man"; he, and not the State, must answer one day before God. His Creator and final Judge has appointed the goal and has guaranteed a clear course, forbidding external interference on the part of the State or of anyone else in this vital matter. There is a divinity which hedges man and endows him with a certain sacredness, and which communicates itself to his family life, to his vocation and to his private property.

But there is the other side of the dualism mentioned above. Man is not only a person; he is also an individual: that is to say, he is by nature a social being, meant to be a unit, a part, a member of a larger whole. By the imperative demands of his essence he is one of an organised multitude, and in his capacity of individual as distinct from person he is in many ways subordinated to the community, as every part is subordinated to the whole, as every member of the human body is subordinated to the whole body. His individual good, *bonum individuale*, is of less importance than the public good, *bonum commune*. For the sake of the whole body, man must be ready to sacrifice much that may seem to be to his own advantage. The community has certain rights over him, rights which are far-reaching in their scope and insistent in their claims. As a social animal his liberty is in many ways curtailed: he may not do or say or write much that he is physically able to do or say or write. In fact, we may say that the reason why God has given to man certain well-defined personal rights is precisely because man, having to live as a subordinate member

of a community, needs a certain defence against the claims of the community on him.

But if the community claims much from man, it gives much in return. It is one of the many paradoxes of creation, one of its many marvellous harmonies, that the perfection of a man's personality depends very largely on the perfection with which, as an individual, he voluntarily subordinates himself to the community. Under the present system we know that there are many cases where the individual is not called upon, but should undoubtedly be called upon, to pay more regard to his social obligations than he does. The ideal state of things, of course, would be if we all had such a highly developed "social sense," such a nicely balanced judgment and sensitive conscience, that we should voluntarily give unto society what belongs to society and unto ourselves what belongs to ourselves. In making these voluntary acts of submission and sacrifice, we should be losing nothing and gaining much from the point of view of our personality. But if we are unwilling to make these acts, or if few have a sufficiently developed "social sense," is the external pressure that society can exert on the individual to take the place of the social conscience, as the Communists hold? The remedy would seem justified; but there lurks in it both a deception and a danger. A deception, because the efforts of the State to make men moral or—what is a lesser thing—social-minded generally fail, if they do not provoke worse evils. A danger, because once started, the State will not easily pause at the limits of its legitimate intervention, but, as experience teaches, will normally trespass on that most sacred realm, the realm of man's inviolable and inalienable rights. There is no need to give examples; history, past and present, is full of them. How to maintain in practice the golden mean between Individualism and Collectivism, how to walk steadily along a razor-edge between two precipices—that is in truth the heart of the

sociological problem. The solution offered by Solidarism is now well-known, since it has been incorporated in *Quadragesimo Anno* : it is the doctrine of human society as a moral organic institution, articulated (as it were) by its very nature into a number of natural, not artificial, smaller organisms or " vocational corporations."

The second big principle of Solidarism is connected with the idea of vocation. In Catholic social philosophy, vocation is the explanation of the true equality of all men and at the same time of their inequality. Whatever may be the differences between the various life-tasks of different men, in one thing they are all alike : a man's state in life, his vocation, is the means which God wishes him to use to achieve his personal perfection. It is this that gives an equal dignity to every well accomplished work, be it the work of judge or jarvey, of surgeon or soldier, of farmer or tailor ; each is at once doing the will of God and contributing to the efficient running of society. In its deepest essence it does not matter in what particular way I spend the few years of my life—as crossing-sweeper or as king ; compared with the importance of my personal perfection, the type of work I do as an individual loses all significance. It is only the manner in which I fulfil my allotted task, my vocation, that will have any lasting importance, and that only because it will affect my personality. That is what Solidarism means by vocation ; it is the divine aureole that encircles all human actions rightly performed, gives them their real dignity and worth, and makes them all substantially equal. The place I hold as an individual in the community, be it high or low, is mine for a very limited time, confers no intrinsic worth on me, much less takes any away from me ; its only real value is that it is the way God wishes me to use my time, talents and activities while here on earth. The whole Catholic theory of labour is built upon this conception of vocation—labour considered either as a personal duty or as a social function. If

society is an organism, then there must be differences in the tasks which different members will have to accomplish. But these differences should not be allowed to create division in the community, but should rather contribute to richness and variety in a harmonious whole. Unfortunately the advent of the Industrial Revolution, the Naturalistic Philosophy and the Capitalistic technique of production led to the formation of "classes," one of the characteristic anti-social phenomena of modern times. It is to get rid of the "class-society" that Solidarism favours the vocational—corporative organization—*i.e.*, for a sociological purpose, not for an economic one.

The third principle of Solidarism is that the social life of any given community should not be exclusively concentrated in what we generally call the State. It should, on the contrary, be decentralized, working as a vigorous leaven in the whole body, energizing through all the parts of the community. Otherwise the individual citizens will have the social side of their nature starved and will become individualists, caring only for their own particular interests or for the interests of their "class"; they will lose all power of thinking in terms of the common good and will make no sacrifice for that common good save under the compulsion of law. And the consequences of all this we can see before us in every country to-day: as the State monopolises more and more of the social machinery or local government, the citizens grow apathetic and egoistic, cease to co-operate in making social life run smoothly, and finally resist as far as they can all efforts of the central government. Pope Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno* analyses this condition of affairs and gives the remedy:—

> Social life has lost its organic form; and the State, now encumbered with all the burdens once borne by associations rendered extinct by it, has in consequence been submerged and overwhelmed by an infinity of affairs and duties . . . . It is an injustice,

> a grave evil and a disturbance of right order for a larger and higher organization to arrogate to itself functions which can be performed efficiently by smaller and lower bodies. This is a fundamental principle of social philosophy, unshaken and unshakeable, and it retains its full truth to-day . . . . Let those in power, therefore, be convinced that the more faithfully this principle be followed and a graded hierarchical order exist, between the various subsidiary organizations, the more excellent will be both the authority and the efficiency of the social organization as a whole and the happier and more prosperous the condition of the State.

These are the solemn words of His Holiness Pius XI, delivered in a most solemn way three years ago. They are weighty, practical, urgent, and there is not a shadow of doubt as to their meaning or as to the action to which they summon Catholics. For non-Catholics, who see in the Pope nothing more than an ordinary ruler, these words will be examined like the pronouncements of any notable statesman; for Catholics, who see in Pius XI the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the vicegerent of Christ the King, these words will carry with them the authority, the seriousness and the weight of a royal decree. We stand to-day at a turning-point of world-history. Fully conscious of this fact the Father of Christendom solemnly proposes his remedy for the ills of human society. Plenty of quack nostrums have been and are advertised as certain cures for these ills, and it is a sad comment on our Catholicism that many of us seem to be more impressed by these nostrums than by the papal remedy. If we profess inability to grasp its meaning or its applicability, we are merely confessing that we have not given any serious study to *Quadragesimo Anno*. The extract quoted above says: the State has its own well-defined functions, functions of great importance and extent; but the community as a whole, the society and its various parts, have a social life that should be allowed to develop freely without irritating interference or artificial stimulation from the State.

The fourth principle of Solidarism is that man is more important than any material thing—more important, that is, than property. The institution of property or the accumulation of property, even in the form of productive capital, is not an end in itself, but a means—and in a three-fold respect: firstly, a means for the sake of the personal good of man; secondly, for the sake of the common good of society (which itself is for the sake of man); thirdly, for the sake of the good of man as an individual member of society. His Holiness Pius XI, after pointing out in *Quadragesimo Anno* "the twofold aspect of ownership, which is individual or social according as it regards individuals or concerns the common good," goes on:—

> There is, therefore, a double danger to be avoided. On the one hand, if the social and public aspect of ownership be denied or minimised, the logical consequence is "individualism," as it is called; on the other hand, the rejection or diminution of its private and individual character necessarily leads to some form of "collectivism." To disregard these dangers would be to rush headlong into the quicksands of modernism in the moral, juridical and social order, which We condemned in the Encyclical Letter issued at the beginning of Our Pontificate. Let this be noted particularly by those seekers after novelties, who launch against the Church the odious calumny that she has allowed a pagan concept of ownership to creep into the teachings of her theologians and that another concept must be substituted, which in their astounding ignorance they call Christian.

The fifth principle of Solidarism is that there exists an objective, hierarchical scale of values, both social and individual. In other words, that there are some things which, in themselves and independent of any judgment collective or individual, are of more value, of more importance than others. And the principle further declares that this scale of values, at least in its main outlines, can be known and agreed on by all fair-minded men. And finally the principle declares that the productive resources and the productive activities of the

country should be controlled in accordance with this scale of values, and not in accordance with the principle of private gain and private greed. If this fifth principle of Solidarism, and the last which we shall discuss, had been rigorously applied in the past, the world would not now be floundering in a quagmire of economic chaos, but this and the other principles of Solidarism will never receive a whole-hearted application without a moral renovation of modern society. "Christianity alone," says Pius XI, "can apply an efficacious remedy for the excessive solicitude for transitory things, which is the origin of all vices. When men are fascinated and completely absorbed in the things of the world, it alone can draw away their attention and raise it to heaven. And who will deny that this remedy is now urgently needed by society?"

So far I have been dealing only with the broad principles of the corporative organization of society. How to embody these principles in the concrete structure of a society so organized is a question with which I have not space to deal. But it is right to emphasise the fact that *Quadragesimo Anno* expresses approval only of the Corporative Society, not of the Corporative State. Of the latter it says: "We feel bound to add that to our knowledge there are some who fear that the State, instead of limiting itself to necessary and sufficient assistance, is substituting itself for the free activity of the citizens. It is feared that the new syndical and corporative institution possesses an excessively bureaucratic and political character and that . . . . it risks serving particular political aims rather than contributing to the initiation of a better social order." A corporative organization which is merely a means to establish and maintain the "totalitarian State" could never be accepted as being in accord with Catholic social philosophy.

In 1932 two international conferences were held in Germany, at which Catholic sociologists from all over

the world made an attempt to work out in all its concrete details the idea of a Corporative Society. Though five different plans were put forward and though all of them contain some excellent features, none of them can be said to be quite satisfactory.[1] The practical statesman or administrator would consider them unreal and academic. It is the old puzzle which made Edmund Burke so contemptuous of the French Revolutionists: human society is not a plum-pudding; you cannot make a perfect society by following some recipe and mixing the ingredients in certain proportions. Society and social organizations are organic things: they must grow; they are not made by rule-of-thumb. Young revolutionists, exultant in their new-won victory, can with difficulty be persuaded to see anything good in the past—in a past under which they suffered; but it is wisdom and common sense to listen to the voice of their forefathers as incorporated in traditions and institutions which have stood the strain of a thousand years. And for us Catholics it is more than wisdom and common sense, it is a plain duty to listen to the voice of the common Father of Christendom when he solemnly lays down the broad principles of a new social order—and not merely to listen, but to study and apply these principles.

E. J. Coyne

[1] See *Die berufsständische Ordnung: Idee und praktische Möglichkeiten.* Herausgegeben von Josef van der Velden (Köln: Katholische Tat-Verlag, 1932).
Wirtschafts und Sozial—Politik in der berufsständischen Ordnung. Herausgegeben von Josef van der Velden (Köln: Bachem, 1933).

OURSELVES AND DEAN SWIFT

BY DANIEL CORKERY

Professor of English, University College, Cork.

The Life and Friendships of Dean Swift. By Stephen Gwynn. (Thornton Butterworth. 1933. 18s.).
Jonathan Swift. By W. D. Taylor. (Davies. 1933. 10s. 6d.).
Swift, or the Egotist. By Mario M. Rossi and Joseph M. Hone. (Gollancz. 1934. 16s.).

SWIFT the author will always be alive for literary men the world over. For present-day Englishmen Swift the politician is, however, only so much cold mutton. And what of Swift the lover? Is there, to speak current jargon, even one tiny little 'thrill' left in that affair for anyone, English or Irish, or otherwise? One thinks not. Lord Longford's play *Yahoo*, performed some time since in Dublin, begins with Swift the lover, but comes most alive when it gets to Swift the Drapier. True, it then becomes propaganda; but live propaganda is better than drama which scarcely moves one. That for Englishmen the play would come alive in this way may be doubted: what do they care about the Drapier? May it not then seem that, literary studies apart, the really live book on Swift will be written for Ireland, the Drapier being alive for us in a way that neither Swift the Politician nor Swift the Lover is alive for Englishmen?

The three books at the head of this article have quite naturally been written for England. The Swift that interests us so intensely is the smallest Swift in them. We do not complain; we only feel that it is high time for someone to give us a fuller study of the Drapier than any we have ever had. Richard Ashe King's *Swift in Ireland* was written forty years ago. It was good for its period, but we find it thin. Daly's *Ireland in the Days of Dean Swift* is valueless, except as an indication of what Ireland fifty years ago could think of him. Lecky abides. Yet we have learned much since Lecky's day, if not about Swift's self, then about the Ireland he was born in. And there is more than a mere increase of knowledge to add

point to a fresh consideration of the Drapier and all he stood for : there is a new sense of values. A book on him now cannot but deal with such questions as nationality and ascendancy—things not merely alive but explosive. Yes, the writer on Swift in Ireland will simply not succeed in snugly burying himself in ' authorities,' however much he may desire it ; the headings of his daily paper, the political cries outside his window, the very look of the Irish landscape will not let him : ' we, too, are authorities,' they will cry at him, and their cry he cannot withstand. Not that we would have that new study deal with the Drapier and with that Swift only ; indeed we are thinking that in dealing with all such aspects of him as interest Irishmen, and with all the questions that for us may be brought to focus in him, we may come to avoid such unnatural approaches to the understanding of his whole character as have been and still are customary. For instance, in these three books, as indeed in all others we may say, the conditions of Irish life when he was born are not dealt with until the writer comes to the Drapier Letters, that is, the description of Irish life is put off until well on in the second half of the book. And then only the facts are given : the penal statutes, the poverty, the thieving, the absentees, and such. The master fact is sometimes not even mentioned ; and when mentioned it is not described as the master fact.

The master fact was the nature of the ascendancy mind, its attitude, its fear (*that* we may find in *Exodus*), its unconscionableness, its recklessness. Was not that the master fact ? Did anyone, Gael or Planter or ' English gentleman born in Ireland ' (Swift's description of Molyneux), escape its—what shall we say ?—unholy benediction ? Swift's biographers hurry over his first period : there is so little to tell. They really begin when he leaves Ireland for Temple's house. But he is then twenty-one years of age. The more alert of their readers, when they come, after some hundreds of pages, on the picture of the chaos

that Ireland then was, do none of them ever exclaim: 'Why, I'll have to begin all over again: I took it that he was born into a normal country?' Yet should such alert ones begin all over again, if the Prince of Denmark is not to be come upon, what understanding of the play can they make their own? It may be said that from the facts given they might deduce the spirit out of which this chaos was wrought. They might, if they were poets. Anyway, is it not an unnatural approach? Clive was not born into, did not grow up in, ascendancy conditions, yet what writer has ever dealt with him, or such as he, without attempting to palliate his misdeeds by getting his readers to realise the ascendancy conditions into which, youthful enough, he was flung? Clive's own statement, that flesh and blood could not withstand the temptations peculiar to such conditions, is always quoted, and quite properly quoted.

And then again, is ascendancy such a simple thing that it should be taken for granted? As a thing in itself, has it been so often written about—in English? Is a country with two warring minds in it, two warring religions, two warring cultures, two languages, a simple thing, not to mention the lapse of two hundred years? Swift, and not merely the Drapier, was as much an ascendancy man as Lord Carson is, or the late Sir Henry Wilson was; and he was as much such on the day he first left Ireland for Temple's house as ever afterwards.

II

Swift's character is a quagmire for writers. They are not agreed on any one of his faculties. Thackeray speaks of his savage heart; but for Churton Collins his heart was as tender as a woman's. Mr. Gwynn says one must be either for him or against; he himself is for, which argues that he thinks he had a sound heart. Mr. Shane Leslie says he had no soul;[1] and Lord Morley spoke of his work as 'savage and unholy.' Signor Rossi and Mr. Hone

[1] *The Skull of Swift* (1928).

gather him up, heart, mind, spirit and all, under the one word, 'egotist.' Allowing that they are right and that their idea of what an egotist is, is correct, it yet seems that instead of gratifying us with such a presentation of the man as makes him real and living for us, a world we may explore for ourselves, they have simply dried him up, docketed him, and placed him for ever on the shelf. Churton Collins, it is true, also called him egotist, but by giving him, as well as egotism, despotism and cynicism, equating him with Napoleon, he left one's mind freer to range. If the ideas of Swift's character be so diverse, it cannot do much harm if one other is added.

Are there no Swifts living in our own streets? No pigmy specimens of the same genus? Do we not know, have we not met, one or more whose faculties, if that word serves, may be described in those terms :—A strong, highly active yet prosaic mind, a gross heart, an imperious will, a craven spirit? If we know such a one, we know a Swift, a pigmy Swift it is most likely.

In man the spirit is exteriorly non-executive : we do not perceive that it thinks, or feels, or orders. It rather helps to co-ordinate the other faculties, it is their clearing house ; it alone speaks to the others, never, in its suggestions to any one of them, forgetting the claims of the two others : whence sensibility. If Swift had a weakling spirit, we may take it that any one of his other faculties played rebel against the whole household whenever it would, foraging on its own. We find Swift's rebel intelligence in his style, hard, four square, shockingly transparent, without overtones for the eye or the ear. It is also in his clear-eyed management of the minutiæ of the passing days, his careful counting of opportunities as of halfpence. His unruly heart is in his loves, his impulses, his fits of generousness, his hail-fellow-well-met attitude to all and sundry on the highway if no 'respectable' person is present to spy on him. It is also of course in his floods of self-pity, his emotional collapses. His tyrannical will is

in his ruthlessness, his strict observance of duties, his lust of power. Cravenness of spirit does not mean complete inefficiency of spirit; at no moment, of course, was his spirit entirely inoperative; so that none of his activities, whether it be a page of writing or a snatch of love-making or a bout of alms-giving, is to be taken as accomplished and quite finished off without any benediction whatever of spirit upon it: after all, the man was a human being. And of course he had his moments when all his faculties worked in pleasant congruity: these were his playful moments, the only times at which he becomes at all lovable; many of them are recorded in the Journal to Stella. These, however, were not his passionate moments. And it is through his passionate moments he lives. It may be said of him that he rampaged himself into history, into fame. The legend of him is that of one who rampaged mightily: the idea of him conveyed in it is entirely non-spiritual, never entirely unanarchic.

There are men built on the same plan in our own streets. In expression they are never quite unlike Swift's portraits. They are full of energy, they know their own minds, they know what is to be done, they are merciless towards those who do not. They are always saying: 'I, of course, am a philistine,' intending to convey that they are not, but they are. They insult you, but immediately after they will apologise so profusely and so vulgarly that the apology lingers in the mind longer and more horribly than the insult. Yet they are good company, great jokers; and little children can often lead them. They are impulsively charitable. They usually live long (by what dispensation who knows!). Each part of their machine is strongly made, yet they are quitters. Towards the end they grow soft, will sob in public; their last years they live in a very sweat of self-pity. What Johnson called 'the black dog' sits by them day and night, and they lack the reserves that would banish him. Of course they may be good men or bad men, Christian or pagan,

simple or learned, but men of sensibility they are not; they are coarse in their bones and in their marrow. If such specimens of the genus as we meet with do not astonish us, well, their build is not heroic, or circumstances have straitened their activities, or tradition has succeeded in inducing in them some modicum of reverence.

If Swift were natively of such build as we have been describing, Nature played a double-barrelled pre-natal trick on him when it chose to usher him into life in exactly the wrongest place, Dublin of the Ascendancy, and in precisely the wrongest time, the spiritually-sterile eighteenth century. And to that malign time and place he was, in his very infancy, at once and for ever abandoned! Only a perfectly balanced being, or one overburdened with spirit, could come clean from such an environment. The pieties of home he never knew. Was there any other scholar in Kilkenny quite so derelict, any other student in Trinity College quite so unharnessed to such hearthside yokes as make for sweetness? How different it was with Goldsmith, with Burke; how they loved to look back to the simple homely things that are also somehow such sane things. Yes, the first twenty-one years of Swift's life are to be reckoned with, not only for what they maliciously did for him, but also for what, more maliciously still, they failed to do. They must be realised, whether Swift was like our imagination of him or quite different.

III

Thus to understand Swift's self, ascendancy must be discussed; and nationality, if we are to deal with his reactions to Ireland or Ireland's to him, in his own time or since.

There is no reason why we in Ireland should be inapt in our ideas about nationality, because it is always in our thoughts, and the name of it always on our lips. If our ideas are inapt, and they often are, it is because we *will* think on English lines; and England has as little need to brood upon nationality, or even to consider it at

all, as a perfectly healthy man has to think about any of his own organs. But Conrad somewhere describes for us a sailorman who moves about his ship carefully, in a sort of stillness, as though he carried some precious thing in his breast: what he carries there is, of course, a diseased heart that at any moment may simply stop. The Englishman may very well let his nationality take care of itself, to rough it; but there are certain Irishmen who, whenever their gaze wanders over a bookshop window in any of our cities, fall into a sort of stillness. Alien mind has therein, they see, visibly set up its tabernacle, is at home, while native mind is present only on sufferance. And as they gaze, they fall to wondering if the window mirrors the conscious life of the people of Ireland. But 'mind' is too hard a word to describe nationality with; for is it not rather a matter of *pietas?* Feeling in such matters would seem to be more fundamental than thought. Yet pieties of themselves are not enough either. Nationality is really the result of the mind of a people working on, joyously evaluing, the pieties practised by that people. It is really a glad awareness of the national pieties, an awareness that they are such, and not merely customs, arts, games, or whatever else they may go as in the catalogue. One might go further and say that nationality is a people's mind's reverential awareness of itself as it finds itself abidingly embodied in the national pieties. What self-respect is in an individual, nationality is in a people.[1]

Having reminded ourselves of so much, let us get back to Swift and the question of his nationality. It does not matter what he thought of it himself. Molyneux,

[1] There is an instructive passage in *Tom Brown's School Days*. The characters are at a cricket match:

> 'I'm beginning to understand the game scientifically. What a noble game it is too!'
>
> 'Isn't it? But it's more than a game. It's an institution,' said Tom.
>
> 'Yes,' said Arthur, 'the birth-right of British boys old and young, as *habeas corpus* and trial by jury are of British men.'

If this was not fiction, one might say that here are two slight errors: 'British' should be 'English' and 'institution' should be 'piety'; one does not glow to think of certain institutions—methods of execution, for instance. In the reverential gladness that Tom and Arthur here experience is the very fount of nationality.

as already remarked, he described as an 'English gentleman born in Ireland.' So also would he describe himself, one thinks. But the law takes it that an Irishman is a man born in Ireland, and we may let it go at that. Swift was an Irishman, but was he an Irish nationalist? It is not easy to say, for it is not easy to know what an Irish nationalist now is. There is no difficulty in knowing what an English nationalist is, for there are about forty millions of them in England. Dip your hand in the lucky bag, and the one you draw up will do as a measuring rod. But where are we to find a measuring rod for Irish nationality? Who knows where? For there is no living Irishman who is as Irish through and through as the first Englishman we may light upon is English. The best of us, even the people of the Gaeltacht, practically all of them educated in English, are little better than piebald nationalists. It was not so, of course, in Swift's time. Measuring rods were then to be found by the thousand, by the hundred thousand. When one is asked then was Swift an Irish nationalist, what is one to reply? Shall we measure him up against one of our piebald selves? To hold him however in the one glance with any Irish poet of his time, with Carolan (died 1738) or Egan O'Rahilly (died 1726) or O Doirnin (died 1768) or any other, with poets who were journalists in the sense that Swift himself was a journalist, is only to see how absurd the question is. The dominant factor, the scale of values, native to the minds of those poets was a 'glow' transmitted from the Gaelic past. The 'glow' in Swift's mind came to him from the past of the English nation; the dominant factor in his mind was English. Mr. Gwynn admits that Swift was not an Irish nationalist; he will not admit, however, that the dominant factor in him was English. To this we will come later. There were 400,000 Protestants in Ireland in those times.[1] Did Swift for a moment wish that these should, in their whole make-up,

[1] I take the figures from Mr. Taylor's book. For such facts it is a useful book.

become as un-English as those poets were ? Did he wish that Ireland's mind should, all over, become as different from England's mind as the minds of those poets were different from those of the poets he had frequented in London ? Did he even wish that the mind of any one of his fellow Protestants should in the smallest degree approximate to those poets' minds ?

All this, however, is to speak too much by the card. If we take the words ' Irish nationalist ' to mean one who wishes well to Irish nationality, even though executively he himself can give no help, Swift was such, if (as Signor Rossi and Mr. Hone aver) he sympathised with Gaelic Ireland ; for there and there alone was the living Irish nation to be found. And this brings us to other matters.

IV

In Signor Rossi and Mr. Hone's book we read : " But if he ever acquired sympathies in Ireland, we think, as against all his biographers, that they were with the silent and ' hidden Ireland ' rather than with ' Ascendancy.' " The writers give no proof of this, except that in a letter to Chevalier Wogan Swift praises the valour of the ' exiled gentlemen of Ireland,' the Wild Geese, adding that if the Irish peasant is what he is, it is not his own fault. As a rule, whenever he says anything in favour of those he himself calls ' the national Irish,' he is having a slap at the Dissenters. Mr. Taylor quite correctly points out that such praise from Swift means little or nothing, it is ' no more than praise of a dead foe.' Anyway, even if Swift did sympathise with the national Irish, he sympathised with them only as poverty-stricken down-trodden human beings ; with their nationality he certainly never sympathised (their language he wished to see forgotten). This obvious distinction is never made ; and yet on the strength of such phrases as have been indicated, phrases often used with ulterior motives, he is made out an Irish nationalist. If anyone wishes to make him out a humanitarian, then only will the phrases have any weight.

The fact that *all* Ireland rallied to the Drapier's cause is what is usually depended on. We are reminded that all the authorities are at one on this. Also that the evidence is contemporary. It is. It doesn't seem to have been added to in two hundred years. The latest biographers depend on the same statements as the earliest. If there is other evidence, we have not seen it. Yet to our mind, all this evidence is suspect for the simple reason that it tries to make out a case. It is curious that whether it comes from the Drapier's own side or the other, it is the same case that is being made out. We need not mind the evidence from Swift's own followers, since they naturally would seek to make out that their forces were the strongest possible. But Boulter was not on Swift's side, he was Swift's most considerable enemy. If he says that all Ireland was on the Drapier's side, then it must have been so. It is forgotten that when Boulter said so he was writing to England to have the whole business closed down, that is, he was making out a case. He was a hard-headed man, and saw that the game was not worth the candle.

In Miss Hayden and Mr. Moonan's *History of the Irish People* there is a pregnant phrase : ". . . . the public life of eighteenth-century Ireland, that is to say, of that minority of its population which was permitted to have any public life at all." That minority numbered 400,000, that is, if the Dissenters, who are included, shared in the public life. The Catholic majority that was not permitted any share in it numbered 1,400,000. It would be interesting to come on evidence *from* the 1,400,000 themselves as to their part in the controversy, not evidence *about* them. It may be there. Boulter does say, in making out his case, that intimacies are being brought about between Papist, Jacobite, and Whig. No doubt there were ; but how many ? And what sort were the Papists ? And to what degree did they represent the 1,400,000 ? Signor Rossi and Mr. Hone's book, like so many others,

stresses the fact that the Fourth Letter, the most 'patriotic' letter,[1] is addressed to the whole people of Ireland. Very good, but turn to the letter itself! Or to shorten matters, let us hear Mr. Taylor on it:—

> Swift in his Fourth Letter to the Whole People of Ireland declares that by 'the whole people' he means the descendants of those who reduced the kingdom to obedience. It is they, he says, who oppose the entrance of Wood's coin, not the Irish, though they will probably do so when they are asked. But as he proceeds one feels that this is a 'blind,' like Molyneux's saying that only one in a thousand of the people of Ireland belongs to the old stock. With his mind full of the ignorance, servility, and destitution of the 'native Irish' he insensibly begins to speak for them. In such sentences as these he had the whole people of Ireland in his mind. 'A people long used to hardships lose by degrees the very notions of liberty, they look upon themselves as creatures at mercy, and that all impositions laid on them by a stronger hand are legal and obligatory. Hence proceeds that poverty and lowness of spirit, to which a kingdom may be subject as well as a particular person!'

The words he quotes from Swift Mr. Taylor thinks—or rather 'feels'—apply to Irish Ireland. But they do not. They apply to the 'whole people' Swift had in his mind—*i.e.*, to the Ascendancy proper *plus* the Dissenters; they apply to less than one-fourth of the population of the country. They are to be taken as meaning what they say. They refer to the people for whom he is writing, the descendants of those who reduced the kingdom to obedience. If that is not so, Swift is putting 'notions of liberty' into the minds of the 'national Irish.' Who can believe that? It simply is unthinkable. When he uses the word liberty he means one thing and one thing only, freedom of the Ascendancy from British interference.[2]

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[1] Has anyone wondered why this letter should differ so much in temper from the others? The Government founded their prosecution of Swift on a passage in it. We may note that the letter is dated Oct. 26, and that Boulter, Swift's outstanding protagonist, had been appointed Archbishop of Armagh Aug. 31. The letter contains much about the grabbing of Irish jobs by Englishmen—curious matter to put before the 1,800,000 people in Ireland, when only 200,000 of them had any claim to the offices.

[2] Mr. Gwynn, of course, knows this. He says: 'Swift's agitation was directed against the English control of Irish affairs.' (p. 283).

But did *all* Ireland rally to the Drapier? Did the 1,400,000 Catholics? Certain Catholic merchants who in the towns were beginning to lift their heads, and those Catholics who had managed to hang on to their estates, who, in one of Mr. Gwynn's handy phrases, 'had identified themselves with the ruling classes,' these probably did huzza with the rest. All told they were a handful. Were there 200,000 of them? Let us say they numbered 400,000. Then there were as many Catholics on his side as Protestants! Yet Swift himself says that the Catholics had not opposed Wood's coin! And when he said this, the controversy had only two more months to run! The fact of the matter is that the English in Ireland lived in one plane, and Irish Ireland in quite a different plane, as everyone who has studied that period knows. In the Irish Ireland plane the whole controversy seems to have had no reverberations whatever. At this very time the Gaels had hundreds, literally hundreds, of poets to voice their feelings; and their feelings were political, as thousands of poems from that period show. A vast number of these poems has long been available. We have never seen as much as one reference to either the Dean himself or the controversy in any one of them we have read. We have asked others more learned than we are in this literature. They report the same. Those who have taken trouble to realise how the Gaels lived at this time require no further proof of their aloofness from the whole matter. But even if there were no such evidence, negative though it be, one cannot see how possibly they could have come into the struggle. Picture them: They are a beaten people; they are full of bitterness, as their poetry shows; their lands have been taken from them, they are being parcelled out among strangers; in every countryside little bands of the dispossessed are raiding the houses of the Planters; Wild Geese are coming from and returning to the Continent. What mostly is in the imagination of these Gaels may be listed thus—their stolen

lands, their broken altars, their hunted priests, their banished leaders, the degradation of their race—and Dublin was still framing the most barbarous statutes against them. How then can we imagine them becoming excited or even interested in a squabble among their enemies over a matter that promised no relief, a squabble that was carried on in a language that the vast majority of the Gaels could not read. Furthermore they had little or no traffic with the towns or cities, and the whole controversy arose, reached its climax, and ended within seven months. Why even to-day a political party, with all modern appliances to hand, could not energise even its own followers in that space of time. We may be sure that no more than a few Catholics took part in that controversy; the idea that in this struggle Swift became identified with all the people of Ireland is just about as wrong as an idea can be.[1]

V

That book we hope for on the Drapier will have a piquant chapter on the Anglo-Irish nation. Mr. Gwynn writes: 'This Englishman was the first who taught the Anglo-Irish to think of themselves as a nation.' Signor Rossi and Mr. Hone are on the same word: 'But as an Independent nation it had to seek roots in a native Irish past. St. Patrick and St. Columba presently became saints in the Irish Protestant Calendar, and a sort of cultural nationalism grows up in the 'Ascendancy' in this manner.' So was it that the *un*national Irish became a nation. They laid hands on St. Patrick, not as a saint

[1] It is true that we come on stories about the Dean in the Gaeltacht, comic and scurrilous stories only. They have not the feeling of having been there since Swift's own time. They were in the possession of the Protestant weavers of Dublin in his time. It was many a long year before they reached the Gaeltacht; they still bear the marks of having been translated from the English. A much less lengthy period than two hundred years would have got rid of these marks. Yet Signor Rossi and Mr. Hone say about the native Irish: 'They wished him [Swift] a God of their Gaelic Olympus and even imagined that he was secretly of their faith.' So are 'correct' ideas of Irish history spread abroad in the world.

but as a national piety.[1] As a matter of fact he was never a national piety among the Irish. He was a saint. Their attitude towards him was something like that of the Italians towards St. Francis of Assisi, not like that of the French towards St. Joan. Still St. Patrick was a very living figure in Irish imagination. But the Anglo-Irish would not content themselves with borrowing, they tried their hands at creating—in the Irish manner, as they hoped—images by which to project their own apprehension of their new status, and these were the result: the Shamrock, the Harp, the Round Tower, the Blarney Stone, the Irish Colleen, Pat, the Shillelagh (whatever that may be), the Broth of a Boy, Paddy the Irishman, the Cruiskeen Lawn, Kathleen Mavourneen, Eileen Alannah, and crowds of other 'green' things that never had any existence at all in the imagination of the Gael, and that ever since have been vulgarising us in the judgment of the whole world. It will be said that the Anglo-Irish cannot be made responsible for all these. That is so, some of them came from England, some from America; but the impulse which accounts for their existence at all arose when Swift dinned words like nation, liberty, freedom, independence into Ascendancy ears. Signor Rossi and Mr. Hone, in the passage we have quoted, admit it. The impulse in the mind, if separate mind there was, of the Anglo-Irish to have such symbols, does not prove them a nation. Such symbols, to have significance, should be given off, so to say, from various national pieties, which themselves must have undergone historic development; but Anglo-Ireland neither had, nor has, any national pieties of its own, and therefore these oddments are not symbols of nationhood. All the writers, however,

[1] The Ascendancy had forgotten that Shirley, the English Catholic, had about one hundred years before flung St. Patrick at their heads, so to speak. He wrote them *St. Patrick for Ireland*, the title being suggested to him, one thinks, by a slogan of his own nation: St. George for England. Perhaps one should remember this when one comes on the words:

'Patrick, sleep; oh, sleep awhile,
And wake the patron of this isle.'

are correct in thinking that Swift had an effect on the mind of the Ascendancy, and this is what they would say when they speak of a new nation emerging from his labours. What they are really saying is that the Ascendancy, when Swift had done with it, was not the same as it had been. Effect he had, but it was the opposite of what he is supposed to have had. It was negative, not positive ; it was destructive, not constructive ; what was compact and purposeful he left disintegrated and shiftless. To do such things was part of his nature. We know that Edmund Spenser's son, Sylvanus, married a Catholic, became a Catholic, adopted the Gaelic dress, used the Gaelic speech, ' lived Irishly ' as the phrase then was. In Swift's time, unfortunately, that ancient power of Irish Ireland to win and absorb its enemies was gone dormant. The Ascendancy was flushed with triumph over the Gael, it had never felt so secure ; Swift's own image of the enchained lion whose teeth have been drawn is well known. The Irish patriot-dreamer that could think of ' softening ' the Planters by bringing gifts from the Gaelic past in his hands to them, would have been reckoned by his own people as simply mad, as mad as Suibhne Geilt. The gates were closed against such gifts more firmly than ever before. Then, as the orators of that time might have said, Swift arose. He did, and in his reckless fierceness could not content himself with ' whispering ' ('tis his own word) ' Beware of Wood's Halfpence ' without at the same time crying out heroic words, those we have already given. He meant them as missiles—should we say ' shillelaghs ? '—that might be used for threatening that Super-ascendancy across the water that had played him so many and such scurvy tricks. But words, and especially heroic words, are living things ; they reverberate in the mind, they evoke, they challenge. Not that Swift's words made any immediate change : none of his fellows, for example, misinterpreted his idea of liberty, nor were they converted to Gaelic ideas ; they were however

disturbed, they were set thinking: if we are as English as the English in England, as we have always held, how can we object to their making laws for us? So it was that his arguments, but more powerfully, one thinks, his reiteration of heroic words, helped to open those gates that seemed shut for ever against all things natively Irish. Did not St. Patrick get through, whether as saint or national piety? So it was that the Dean opened a way for a disintegrating matter to flow into the brain of the Ascendancy. That same matter, sooner or later, would have got through in either case, though how long after this time it is not easy to guess. When that matter had worked long enough on them, the Ascendancy knew no longer what they were, nation or colony or lost tribe, nor have they known ever since what it was that they stood for. That they did not know, George Henry Moore, Standish O'Grady, Captain Shawe-Taylor, and others of their own people found out when they tried to get them to act on principles.

. . . . . .

We have not touched on the biggest things in these books, the biggest things in their writers' minds. Mr. Gwynn's is a most readable volume. The old practised hand is charmingly visible in every line of it. For those who love to overhear the intimate gossip of the politicians, writers, and wits of Swift's London circles, here indeed is treasure-trove, and heaps of it. No other book we know of deals so fully with him among his compeers in England. Of the many quotations, not one seems pointless. Mr. Taylor's book is what he says it is, a study. And a very honest and thoughtful study too. He has taken much pains to make himself acquainted with the facts; and the vast number he sets out for us, and the preciseness of them, are valuable. One regrets that the remaining book keeps all too close to its theme.

DANIEL CORKERY

THE ROOSEVELT RECOVERY PROGRAM

BY RIGHT REV. MGR. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.
Professor of Industrial Ethics in the Catholic University of America

THE June 1933 issue of STUDIES contained an article entitled "President Roosevelt's Economic Program," which I wrote about the middle of the preceding April. Exactly one year later, I am attempting to describe the effects of the program and to estimate its present prospects.

In my former article, I recorded briefly the principal executive and legislative measures which had been either adopted or recommended to Congress by President Roosevelt. The greater part of the article, however, was devoted to a discussion of the contrasting economic philosophies held by the present Chief Executive and his immediate predecessor. On this point, it will be sufficient to note that the views of President Roosevelt are much more generally accepted now than they were one year ago. Only a few of the most reactionary exponents and servitors of capitalism have the hardihood any longer to contradict the theory that the way to economic recovery lies through increased purchasing power for the masses who have the desire but lack the means to consume the products of industry. The classical economic theory which stressed production and neglected consumption received a typical expression in the words of John Stuart Mill: "Every addition to capital gives labour either additional employment or additional remuneration." This formula has become so poor, so discredited, that now there is none to do it reverence. In his address to the business representatives of the NRA codes, March 5 of the present year, President Roosevelt reasserted his belief in the "under-consumption" theory. While he is eager to see the so-called capital goods industries revived

at a more rapid rate than they have as yet assumed, he apparently does not look upon this as the major problem of recovery. Probably he realizes that we have no great need of new capital goods. Probably he still adheres to the statement which I quoted from him in STUDIES one year ago: "Our industrial plant is built. . . . Our task now . . . is the sober and less romantic business of administering resources and plants already in hand, . . ." One year ago I noted that the President's confidence that his leadership would be sustained by the people had been thus far justified. In the intervening year, the favourable attitude of the people toward him has steadily increased.

Let us return now to the specific measures which have been adopted since March 1933 to bring about recovery from the depression. The reopening of the banks has been completed. Those only remain closed which could not be permitted to resume business consistently with the public welfare. Laws have been enacted which will render much more difficult the kind of banking which led to the *débâcle* at the beginning of March 1933. Of more immediate benefit than this general legislation is the Act which provides for governmental insurance of bank deposits up to twenty-five hundred dollars for each depositor. The guarantee fund is raised by a tax on the banks. Before its enactment, this measure was opposed with practical unanimity by the bankers as economically unsound and as unfair to sound banking institutions; but the banking fraternity had become so discredited that their opposition no longer carried either economic authority or political influence. As a consequence of this law, bank failures have practically ceased and men are so willing to place and leave their money in the banks that the President of the American Bankers' Association on March 4, 1934 sent the congratulations of his associates to the President and added: "The banking structure of the country is sound and liquid, and banks have never been in a stronger position to function effectively."

The radical changes in the American monetary system since last June can here receive only brief mention. With the authorization of Congress, gold has disappeared from circulation, paper money is no longer redeemable in gold, the gold content of the dollar has been reduced by almost forty per cent. and may at the President's discretion be lowered ten per cent. further. The main object of the currency measures was and is to bring the general level of wholesale prices up to the average which obtained in 1926. When that goal is attained, the purchasing power of the dollar, not in gold but in commodities, is to be kept stable. Thus the President has committed himself to the policy of a "managed currency." Whether that policy can be successfully operated is a question that cannot be answered beforehand. The fear, rather widely expressed a few months ago, that the President would use the powers conferred upon him by Congress to bring about dangerous inflation of the currency seems to have almost completely subsided.

During the last year, laws have been passed extending government credit for the refinancing of farm mortgages at lower rates of interest and providing similar advantages to home owners in the cities. The number of persons benefited by these measures is considerable, absolutely speaking, but as yet it is not large in comparison with the total number of persons in these classes. The Securities Act, modelled upon the British Companies Act but somewhat more severe, aims at preventing the deception of buyers of company shares and other securities. It enables such purchasers to recover damages on account of misrepresentation by the sellers. The Act deliberately substitutes for the maxim "caveat emptor" that of "caveat venditor." It has been savagely attacked by those interested in selling securities, but apparently it will be permitted to remain on the statute books with only unimportant amendments. Despite a formidable barrage of propaganda, there is no positive evidence to

show that the Act has thus far prevented the sale of any company's securities that were really necessary or useful. The main reason why new capital enterprises have not been undertaken or old ones expanded is the existing overproduction of plant and the improbability that the products of new capital instruments could be sold. Apparently the Securities Act is not only a protection to the unwary purchaser of stocks and bonds, but tends to check over-expansion of capital instruments similar to that which precipitated the depression.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act provides a method of helping the farmers which had been in substance embodied in bills passed by previous Congresses but vetoed by Republican Presidents. It is an arrangement by which the producers of certain basic farm commodities—principally wheat, cotton, corn, hogs and tobacco—receive a special payment in addition to the current market price. This payment is derived from the so-called "Processors' Tax," which is imposed upon the person who makes the last modification of the agricultural product before it reaches the consumer; for example, the miller, in the case of wheat. The main object of the device is to bring the prices of these farm products up to the level at which they had stood before the War, relatively to the prices of other commodities. However, the "Processors' Tax" is not to be a permanent measure. Only those farmers can obtain the benefit of it who have reduced or promised to reduce the amount of their production. As a consequence, millions of acres of cotton and wheat have been and will be taken out of use. The underlying theory is that the current production of certain agricultural commodities in the United States has gone far beyond the demand for them at reasonable prices. There is no doubt that this is a fact. Neither can the underlying ethical assumption be contested. That is, consumers who want a certain commodity are under moral obligation to pay a sufficient price to enable the producers to live decently.

This is the practical rule of just price which was laid down almost six centuries ago by the distinguished Canonist Langenstein. The Agricultural Adjustment Act does not aim to give the farmers more than this. Although the total farm income has increased some fifty-five per cent. over that of 1932, the purchasing power of most farm products is still considerably below the level of 1914.

The second part of the National Industrial Recovery Act, passed June 16, 1933, provided for an appropriation of $3,300,000,000 to be expended in public works and the direct relief of the needy unemployed. The theory of the public works expenditure is that it puts money into the hands of those who will expend it immediately for goods, thus causing a demand for more goods and increasing employment. Owing to delays in selecting work projects, letting contracts and overcoming other obstacles, this money was not all allotted, that is, assigned to specific projects, until the beginning of the present year. And its maximum rate of actual disbursement will probably not be reached before this article appears in print. Hence the momentum of the enterprise has not been sufficiently great to accelerate re-employment and business activity to the extent that had been anticipated.

Mention must be made, however, of one remarkable performance carried through by the Public Works Administration, which has charge of this huge appropriation. At the beginning of December 1933, four million persons were put to work and kept at work for four months on activities of a useful character in their own localities. This has been the most popular and beneficial feature of the public works program, because it greatly increased the purchasing power in each community. By the first of May, this immense army of workers will be completely demobilized, but it is expected that most of them will be re-employed, either in private industries or upon local public works under the direction of the local authorities. The money for the public enterprises will be provided for

the most part by the Federal Government. Whether the new plan will be as satisfactory as the one which it displaces cannot be foretold at the present time. All that can now be confidently asserted is that the Federal Administration has committed itself to the principle that all the unemployed are to receive a certain minimum of subsistence which will give them vastly more security and satisfaction than they received in the two or three years preceding the inauguration of President Roosevelt.

In my former article I called attention to the Black Bill, which was before Congress when I wrote. It called for a Thirty-Hour Work week and the establishment of minimum wage rates in all industries. I said that it had the support of President Roosevelt, but I was mistaken. On May 17, he sent to Congress the draft of a bill which that body enacted on June 16 under the title: The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). The agency for putting this law into operation is known as the National Recovery Administration (NRA). This Act is by far the most fundamental and far-reaching of all the measures adopted under the Roosevelt administration to bring about recovery from the depression. It not only displaced the Black Bill but embraced many other subjects. Its main provisions and objectives are well summarized in an article by Professor John Maurice Clark in the *American Economic Review* for March 1934 :—

" The basic structural feature is the setting up in each industry and trade of representative organizations which are taken into partnership with the government in carrying out the purposes of the Act. They are to adopt codes subject to public approval, while the President has the power to prescribe a code if no acceptable one has been formed by the industry itself. A temporary re-employment agreement or ' blanket code ' was drawn up, to which employers were urged to subscribe pending the formation of codes for their specific industries. A basic requirement for the codes was a provision protecting the right of collective bargaining and forbidding coercion in favor of company unions . . . .

" Under this scheme a massive structure of boards has been

set up, including code authorities, advisory boards for industry, labor and consumers, compliance boards and labor boards. Employers complying with the Act are granted the use of the device of the 'blue eagle'; and purchasers are urged to trade with those displaying this device.

"The main objectives sought by the use of this machinery are:

"(1) Work-sharing is brought about by limitations of hours in the standard working week. This is done under provisions aiming to force the employer to take on additional workers, in sales or service employments where total hours of service might be shortened or the desired result otherwise circumvented.

"(2) Co-ordinate with the reduction of working hours is the attempt to prevent total dollar earnings per worker from falling with the shortened week; and in particular the setting of minimum wage-rates for the lowest paid occupations.

"(3) Prohibition of child labor is extended.

"(4) The trades are given the opportunity to prevent destructive and anarchistic competitive practices by setting up codes of fair competition, free from the prohibition of the anti-trust laws, but subject to government approval.

"(5) As to prices, the hope and purpose has been that the trades should at least temporarily absorb the increased costs imposed by the labor features of the codes, hoping to be compensated by the gains from increased output."

The number of the unemployed who have obtained jobs under the NIRA is not as large as most friends of the Act had hoped for. The average working week under the Codes is forty hours, whereas it should be reduced to at least thirty in order to re-employ substantially all of those who are out of work. Of course, the main obstacle to the further reduction of working time is the increased cost of the shorter work week at increased hourly rates of wages.

At the meeting of businessmen representing all the coded industries held early in March, the Recovery Administrator, General Johnson, strongly urged a ten per cent. diminution in hours, that is, from forty to thirty-six per week, and a ten per cent. increase in wages per hour. As yet only a small number of concerns seem likely to act upon this recommendation. Undoubtedly many of the larger and more efficient businesses could make these

changes, but many of the smaller concerns would be unable to meet the larger costs involved. The latter are confronted by a dilemma. They cannot increase their payrolls until sales are increased; but sales will not be increased until the workers receive more wages with which to buy more goods.

The NIRA was adopted as an emergency measure to expire July 1, 1935. A large proportion of the American people not only expect but desire it to be re-enacted as a permanent measure. In his recent address to the businessmen, President Roosevelt clearly indicated that this is his own desire and expectation. On the assumption that the Act will be made permanent, let us try to estimate very briefly its principal defects, obstacles and prospects.

The most fundamental defect is the failure to include representatives of labour in the drawing up and administration of the various codes of fair practice. While the new arrangement has been put forward as a plan for self-government in industry, it represents mainly self-government by one of the two interested parties. If labour were represented in the making of the codes, it would be more content with the operation of the scheme, there would be less friction between employers and employees, the enforcement of the codes would be more effectively attained and there would be a greater measure of social justice. The code organization under the NIRA has been frequently likened to or compared with the occupational groups recommended by Pope Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno*. There is, indeed, a certain amount of resemblance, but the lack of labour representation in codes makes a very serious difference.

Probably the most disturbing obstacle to the success of the scheme is the enormous amount of dishonesty and greed that has appeared in its operation. Businessmen agree to abide by the rules as regards wages, hours, competitive practices, prices, etc., and immediately proceed to devise ways of violating their agreements. To these

unfair practices a picturesque term has been applied, "chiseling." As might have been expected, the most demoralizing of these unfair practices is the unnecessary increase in the prices of goods to the consumers. This prevents increased business inasmuch as it reduces the amount of goods that can be purchased through the increased buying power of the workers. The amount and variety of the manifestations of greed in connection with the operation of the codes cause some of us to wonder whether there is sufficient honesty left in the American people to get out of the depression by any rational method.

Next to greed for gain, the most threatening obstacle is greed for power. The famous section 7A of NIRA requires every employer to give the employés "the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing" and forbids an employer to force an employé into "any company union." Nevertheless, some of the most powerful industrial concerns, particularly those engaged in the manufacture of steel and automobiles, have evaded and violated these provisions through one or other of four methods. First, by expanding old and forming new company unions of employés, all of which are dominated by the employers, and then pretending that these organizations enable the employés to exercise the right of collective bargaining. Second, by discharging and otherwise discriminating against employés who have joined the regular unions. Third, by meeting representatives of the regular unions properly chosen by the employés, and then refusing to make any effort to strike a bargain or to do any genuine negotiating. Fourth, by refusing to permit the National Recovery Administration to supervise an election process which would enable the employés in any plant to declare freely their wishes concerning the kind of union that they prefer.

To counteract these dishonest procedures, Senator Robert Wagner and Representative David Lewis have introduced a bill to provide for a National Labour Board

with authority to make Section 7A effective. For several weeks open hearings have been held on this bill before a committee of which Senator David I. Walsh is chairman. Probably never before in our legislative history has there appeared a more amazing display of capitalistic arrogance, effrontery and intellectual dishonesty. Employers and their representatives have come before the Committee professing lip service to the principle of labour organization but opposing those provisions of the bill which would give labour the right not only to join unions but to bargain collectively. As every student of industrial history knows, collective bargaining is the main economic justification and the main purpose of labour unions.

At the present writing, it is doubtful that the bill will be enacted. So powerful is corporate wealth in the United States that it seems likely to prevent this elementary measure of justice from being enacted by a Congress which is less subservient to such domination than any other Congress with which I have been acquainted. Apparently the only hope for the enactment of the bill lies in the possibility that it will receive the explicit and public endorsement of President Roosevelt.

Other important economic measures now before Congress are the bill for the regulation of stock exchanges, the bill giving the President power to negotiate and put into effect tariff treaties with foreign nations, the bill to stimulate unemployment insurance laws by the several states, and the bill establishing a thirty-hour week in all industries. The stock exchange regulation bill has been subjected to an enormous opposition propaganda, but it will be adopted because the President has expressed himself with great positiveness in its favour. Apparently this measure will almost entirely eliminate purely speculative operations by the general public on the exchanges and will subject these institutions to a degree of public regulation which will prevent a repetition of the dishonest manipulation and "deals" which have shocked the

civilized world. Its anticipated effect upon the volume of speculation may be judged from the fact that shortly after it was introduced the selling price of a seat on the Stock Exchange dropped to the extent of $85,000.

The tariff bill and the unemployment insurance bill will become laws at this session. Probably the thirty-hour week bill will fail of passage owing to the fear that its effect upon business would on the whole be harmful. If it were amended, so as to give the President power to reduce the length of the working week at his discretion, with a thirty-hour lower limit, it would be a very meritorious measure. The President would then have a weapon to force the employers to put into effect the ten per cent. reduction in hours recently demanded by the NRA.

Two generalizations may safely be put down concerning the effects of the Roosevelt Recovery Program. Among the people general hope has taken the place of general distrust, not to say despair. There is likewise an almost universal attitude of patience and restraint, of willingness to endure a slow rate of improvement because of faith that the improvement is based upon solid foundations and will continue. The second generalization can be stated statistically: Since March 1933, the general level of business activity has risen by somewhat less than forty per cent., while five million persons have found employment. This number is probably one-third of those out of work when President Roosevelt was inaugurated.

While no one can be certain that the improvement just noted will continue for so long a period as, say, one year, that is the more probable outcome. As regards the prospects of complete recovery from the depression, or such a degree of recovery as would leave only the same number out of employment that we had in the "prosperous" years of 1928 and 1929 (somewhere between two and three millions), it would be irrational to assume an attitude of optimism. Complete recovery faces two formidable obstacles. The first is the mathematical fact

that the purchasing power of labour cannot be increased sufficiently to attain this end without a considerable reduction in business profits and interest on capital. If labour is to get more, capital must be induced or constrained to take less. The share of the product going into savings and new capital must be reduced and the share going to the consumption of the products of our already over-expanded capital instruments must be increased. When he signed the National Industrial Recovery Act, President Roosevelt pleaded for the postponement of full initial profits at least for the first critical months. Secretary Wallace of the Department of Agriculture has declared it to be "exceedingly important that businessmen never take again as large a percentage of the national income for profits and surpluses if our recovery is to be made permanent." The Secretary is right. A smaller share of the national product for capital is not only essential to emergence from the depression but will be necessary to prevent the coming of another depression. It is necessary as a permanent policy if the capitalist system is to continue to function with that degree of efficiency which will enable it to survive.

More fundamental is the obstacle interposed by one of the oldest of human vices. That is, greed or avarice. I have already made brief reference to some manifestations of it in the operations of the codes. Many articles might be written on the deadly ramifications of this vice in our industrial life. Here it will be sufficient to repeat what I have already said more than once before American audiences: "If this great experiment fails, the main causes of the failure will be greed. If all employers were willing to content themselves for a year or two with the means of a decent living and to forget about profits and interest as such, the success of the Recovery Program would be assured."

JOHN A. RYAN

BRITISH PAINTING

BY THOMAS BODKIN, D.LITT.
Director of the National Gallery of Ireland

THE English people are not, as a race, unduly modest. But they undoubtedly possess a rare kind of natural dignity which prevents them from spending much time or energy in efforts to explain themselves to other peoples. They have produced a pictorial art of the noblest kind, and yet they often seem disposed to ignore its existence. The recent exhibition of British art at Burlington House was the first of its kind; and it was only organised when Spanish, Flemish, Dutch, Italian, French and, even, Persian art had been magnificently displayed and generously lauded in similar exhibitions held lately at London.

Sir Charles Holmes once described his countrymen as "a strange people, not, perhaps, altogether the traditional nation of shopkeepers, but still so intent upon practical life, its rivalry and its amusements, that our great men in art, whether in their lifetime or after it, are remembered only by accident." Few men know more about pictorial art in general than does Sir Charles himself. He has written many authoritative books. But he has chosen to write far more about the art of other countries than that of his own.

One of the happiest results of the exhibition must be the series of sound and well illustrated books which the occasion provoked.[1] There was great need for them;

[1] *British Painting.* By C. H. Collins Baker and Montague James. With 256 illustrations (Medici Society, 30s. net).

An Introduction to English Painting. By John Rothenstein. With 46 illustrations (Cassel, 10s. 6d. net).

A Short History of Painting in England. By Miles F. de Montmorency. With 60 illustrations. (J. M. Dent, 6s. net).

English Water-Colours. By Laurence Binyon. With 25 illustrations. (A. and C. Black, 7s. 6d. net).

The Pre-Raphaelite Comedy. By Francis Bickley. With illustrations. (Constable, 10s. net).

Brief notices of these books will be found at the end of this article.

for it is only in England, in Ireland and, latterly, in America that occasion may be found for studying with any degree of thoroughness the works of the foremost British painters. The jealous pride felt by aristocratic owners of such masterpieces and the enormous prices realised, in modern times, for English eighteenth century pictures have generally precluded European collectors and galleries from enjoying access to any adequate representation of the British School.

Until recently it has been too generally assumed, not only in England but outside her borders, that the pictorial art of that country was trivial or non-existent until the eighteenth century was well advanced. England cannot now show native pictures comparable to the glorious works painted in the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth or sixteenth centuries by the Italians, the Flemings or the French. It has often been rashly supposed that no such pictures can ever have existed. It was not realised that the nation which produced manuscripts of extraordinary beauty in the twelfth century could not have contented itself with that mode of pictorial expression alone. But it has gradually been established that the English painters of late mediaeval and early renaissance times were well competent to hold their own with their colleagues in other countries. The Chichester rondel, Lord Lee's "Crucifixion," The Eton chapel frescoes, the Westminster "Richard II" and, above all, the "Wilton Diptych" are works of astonishing merit and, with the possible exception of the diptych, indisputably English. Though Dr. Montague James and other responsible authorities refuse to claim the diptych for England, there are good grounds for holding that this entrancing work, painted before the time of Fra Angelico, was done for the young Richard in his own realm.

The great mass of early English paintings has disappeared for ever; but we know, at least, the causes of that disappearance. Professor Constable has pointed out

in the preface to his monumental work on the exhibition of British Primitives, held in the Royal Academy in the winter of 1923, that wilful destruction in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, neglect in the eighteenth and enthusiastic restoration in the nineteenth reduced the once great wealth of early English pictures to the most meagre limits. No business was ever more ruthlessly carried out than that of the commissioners appointed by King Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth to destroy ecclesiastical works of art. In the journal of William Dowsing, a Parliamentary Visitor appointed in 1643 to demolish "superstitious pictures within the County of Suffolk," we find such amazing entries as this: "Clare: We break down one thousand pictures superstitious." "Cobdock: I break down one hundred and fifty superstitious pictures." What wonder was it that amid such orgies English painters lost heart and neglected, for a long while, the practice of their art!

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the history of painting in England is, for the most part, a history of foreign invasion. As a rule, the invaders were artists who either were, or deserved to be, failures in their own country. The contest lay between aliens, patronised largely because of their novelty, and natives who considered that their only chance of success lay in emulating the methods of their rivals. Resultant pictures are therefore mediocre on the one hand or insincere on the other. A few splendid portraits, such as that of Margaret Beaufort or Sir Edward Hoby, remain to remind us that the native tradition was not dead but dormant.

Two great names emerge from the ruck of foreign nonentities: Hans Holbein, who first came to England in 1526, in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII; and Anthony van Dyck, who arrived in 1621 on a flying visit and who, in 1632, at the invitation of Charles I, settled in London for nine years where he directed a large school of followers and assistants. Holbein had too much

Teutonic realism and curiosity in his character to affect the English temperament permanently. Van Dyck was immediately influenced by his environment, if not by the work of native artists. His painting in England is in a style of complete sympathy with English predilections and his influence is still felt on English pictorial art. Most of his immediate scholars were of foreign birth, men like Hanneman, Ravesteyn and Mijtens, who reverted in due course to their national affinities. But Peter Lely the Dutchman became eventually as English as the English themselves, and William Dobson was English from the start. Though the works of both these men reached a high standard, neither was capable of setting a great example.

At last a liberator appeared in the person of William Hogarth, who was precisely the type of man required for the deliverance of English painting. He was not only a really great artist, he was also a conscious and capable organiser of resistance to foreign influence. By his brush, by his pen and by word of mouth he preached the gospel of independence, encouraging his countrymen to be true to their own instincts instead of seeking out and stealing the styles and subjects current in continental studios. He was a typical middle-class Englishman, somewhat gross and coarse, but thoroughly sincere and susceptible to a high kind of aesthetic impulse.

At the time of his birth, in 1697, painting in England had become light and inane. He revived it by bringing it again to earth, to gather in contact with the realities of nature new strength and dignity. He made his countrymen think for themselves and so, before his death in 1764, English painting had changed its character and from being the weakest and most conventional of all European schools became the most robust and adventurous of the age.

Hogarth, outside his own country, is not known as he deserves to be; and even there he has, perhaps, more fame

as a storyteller than as a painter. For he combined a most skilful technical equipment with a gift for crude satire and a sense of melodrama. He often imposes excellent design, fine draughtsmanship and harmonious colour upon unworthy anecdotal themes. It is only when he consents to submerge the story-telling faculty in the purely aesthetic, that his true genius becomes clearly apparent in such pictures as " The Wanstead Assembly."

The vehemence of his assault against established conventions and his diatribes against the collectors of so-called old masters were undoubtedly requisite to improve the taste of his era, but he gained nothing personally through their promulgation. He was isolated socially, and those very men who profited most by his leadership shrunk from acknowledging him as their champion. Even to-day his reputation suffers, in the judgment of many such cultivated critics as Mr. Collins Baker, from an undeniably vulgar streak in his character.

Sir Joshua Reynolds, who was born in 1723, more than thirty years after Hogarth, was a man of very different type and even greater influence. At the age of twenty he started life as a portrait painter in Plymouth. Three years later he came to London, and in 1749 he sailed on a voyage to the Mediterranean which ended in a three years stay in Italy, passed principally in Rome. In 1752 he returned to London, where he spent the rest of his life. He became the first and was the greatest President of the Royal Academy. He resembled Hogarth in having a strong bent towards thinking for himself. He differed from him in entertaining and inculcating respect for established reputations. In his famous discourses delivered from the presidential chair of the Royal Academy he preached an almost unconditional subservience to the influence of Michael Angelo. It is difficult to discover in any of his pictures much evidence of that influence, but it is easy to see that Rembrandt and Titian

affected him profoundly. Reynolds also differed from Hogarth in his desire to win the approval of those of his contemporaries who were eminent on account of rank, fashion or literature, and in his keen anxiety to amass pecuniary wealth. He succeeded in both those aims. It is hard to say how much of his fame in England to-day depends upon the friendships which he so sedulously cultivated with Burke, Johnson and Goldsmith; perhaps more than he has justly earned by such superlative masterpieces as his portraits of Lord Heathfield and Nelly O'Brien.

His ambition to please, coupled with his taste for money, naturally made him almost exclusively a painter of portraits. The number of portraits he produced in his life is well-nigh incredible. Graves and Cronin, in their monumental catalogue raisonné, chronicled four thousand pictures alleged to be wholly or in part from his hand. Discoveries since then must have added hundreds to this total. Making all possible allowance for errors in attribution and for the part which Reynolds's many assistants played in the production of his work, the fact remains that he was one of the most, if not the most prolific painter who ever lived. He laboured steadily during a long life, working, as Dr. Johnson sadly recorded, even on Sundays. The wonder is that this perpetual labour never became mechanic. From start to close of his career Reynolds exhibited the liveliest curiosity in all matters connected with painting, ready always to experiment in every direction, preoccupied with colour, with the texture of paint and, unlike most Englishmen, with linear design. It has been said of him, and justly, that every picture he painted, even when it was only a head, represented a conscious exertion of the mind.

Reynolds in his own day and until recently completely overshadowed his great contemporary Thomas Gainsborough. This is easily understandable. Gainsborough's output compared with that of Reynolds is small indeed.

There only survive some six hundred pictures now attributed to him. He had but one pupil or assistant, his nephew Gainsborough Dupont, and even he was not employed until towards the close of his uncle's career. Gainsborough had little regard for fame, he did not court the society of the great or of literary people. He died at the comparatively early age of sixty-one. He left few letters or documents behind him. His family was soon extinguished. Yet every day the number of those who consider him the chief glory of English painting increases.

He was born at Sudbury, in Suffolk, in the heart of perhaps the loveliest pastoral county in southern England. As a mere boy he showed a determined predilection for art. There are in the National Gallery of Ireland a pair of pencil portraits, signed and dated by Gainsborough when he was sixteen years of age, which prove him to have been thus early a finished draughtsman. He had little or no teaching beyond three years in the studio of Francis Hayman, an indifferent painter, and some casual contact with Henri Gravelot the French illustrator. When he was only nineteen he married a young woman who brought him the tidy fortune for those times of two hundred pounds a year, and the young couple settled down in Ipswich. There he began as a landscape painter to depict familiar scenes of his boyhood. To the end of his days he regarded himself chiefly as a landscape painter. But he soon introduced little portrait figures into rustic settings and achieved from the start of his career considerable success.

His life and his art may both alike be divided into three periods—fourteen years in Ipswich, fourteen years in Bath and fourteen years in London. Each period presents strongly-marked characteristics. For Gainsborough was always greatly influenced by his environment and prone to reflect in his own painting the best quality of such pictures by others as came within his cognisance. In his Ipswich period he is still the country boy, ardent,

enthusiastic, and deeply affected by the work of the Dutchman Jan Wynants, which he must have encountered in the neighbourhood. When he moved to Bath, a city of great elegance and refinement, he was brought face to face with van Dyck's work and soon emerged from the rather simple, diffident manner of his youth to adopt a more cosmopolitan swing and freedom. In London he came at last to measure himself against the best painters of his time and to realise that not even Sir Joshua Reynolds himself could claim to be his equal at his best. His portrait of Mrs. Graham is surely the finest presentment in the world of feminine youth, grace and intelligence. His "Lord Kilmorey" has a monolithic strength and dignity.

It is customary to overrate Gainsborough's debt to van Dyck perhaps on account of the frequent repetition of his dying words to Reynolds: "We are all going to heaven and van Dyck is of the company." There was sympathy between van Dyck and himself, but it was slighter than was usually supposed. Their only definite point of mental contact was a frank delight in conscious elegance. Gainsborough's spirit had a gaiety and a depth of real feeling which were wanting in van Dyck's colder nature. His admiration for the older master's work was largely the result of chance. He simply happened to see more of it than of the work of other great masters of pictorial art, for he never left England. The supreme art treasures of Italy were beyond his ken.

In all that Gainsborough painted the charming character of the man himself is reflected. Our information about him is meagre, but it goes to show that he must have been one of the most attractive personalities of his age. He was handsome. He was gay and generous to a fault. He was a good musician. He had charming manners and a ready wit. Though he was quick in anger, he was even quicker to forgive: and when he came to die of the most painful of all diseases, he showed most admirable Christian courage and resignation.

The very movement of his brush betrays his temperament. It dips and flickers over the whole surface of his pictures impelled with evident ecstasy. Ruskin wrote disparagingly in his *Elements of Drawing* of Gainsborough's "gentlemanly flimsiness," but this temporary aberration must be forgiven for the sake of his eulogy in the preface to the second edition of *Modern Painters.* There he declares: "Gainsborough is the purest colourist of the whole English school. Gainsborough's hand is as light as the sweep of a cloud, as soft as the flush of a sunbeam . . . Gainsborough's masses are as broad as the first division in heaven of light from darkness . . . Gainsborough's forms are grand, simple and ideal . . . Gainsborough never lost sight of his picture as a whole . . In a word, Gainsborough is an immortal painter."

The third member of the triumvirate who dominated the English school of painting in the eighteenth century was George Romney. While Gainsborough and Reynolds were young men, each just crossing the threshold of his glorious career, he was a boy of sixteen working at cabinet-making in his father's shop in Lancashire and beginning to feel the urge of that genius which was to make him their rival. Like Gainsborough and Reynolds he contrived to educate himself as a painter with the slightest possible assistance. His only mentor was a third-rate itinerant artist called Steele who perambulated the northern counties of England at that time. With no more help than Steele could give him Romney became an excellent draughtsman and a master of technique very early in life. When he was twenty-two he married and settled in the town of Kendal as a portrait painter. Two years afterwards he came to London leaving his wife and two children in the North. He did not return to her till he was sixty-five. In 1773 he went to Italy, where he stayed for a couple of years. On his return he took a house in Cavendish Square in London and immediately proceeded to divide the patronage of the town with Reynolds and Gains-

borough. He lived a secluded and uneventful life, complicated only by a strange and apparently platonic passion for Lady Hamilton. He painted her portrait during the nine years of their acquaintance at least fifty times, and his art deteriorated through his obsession for her cloying charms.

Since his death, Romney's fame in England has fluctuated more than that of any other native painter of importance. Forty years ago his pictures could be bought for trivial sums. It is hard to give reasons for this neglect. In part it is due to the fact that he was poorly represented in the national collections : his best pictures still remained in the country houses of the aristocracy. In part, also, his eclipse is attributable to the somewhat exotic character of his style. Though he painted the pretty well-bred English woman in a fashion unrivalled, he gave her often a curiously Latin air. No other English master is so imbued with genuine classic feeling. Though his colour is always clean and his workmanship distinguished, his portraits often wear an unduly academic guise.

Since the European war Romney's merits have been excessively appreciated. The incidence of taxation upon impoverished county families has resulted in the release of large numbers of his pictures upon the market. Few people were prepared to see his small portrait of Mrs. Davenport, about two feet square, sold by auction in 1926 for the stupendous price of sixty-five thousand guineas.

While Reynolds, Gainsborough and Romney were establishing the great English school of portrait painting, Richard Wilson was doing equally important work in landscape. Born in 1713 he was senior to them all, but it was not until his return from Italy, in 1755, that he renounced completely the practice of a portrait painter in which he had achieved a moderate success. In his methods, even in his ideals, he was influenced by Claude and by Salvator Rosa, but he has a poetic gift which is

all his own. His best works are beautifully balanced in design, luminous in colour and delightful in quality. The very perfection of their technique compels a feeling of mystical serenity.

Unfortunately Wilson was not always at his best. His life was a great struggle. He painted too much and was miserably remunerated. While his contemporary, George Barret the Irishman, is said to have received as much as two thousand pounds for a single picture, Wilson was at times reduced to bartering a picture for a meal. Yet Barret and Wilson were friends, and it says much for Barret's good sense that his landscapes show a steadily growing subjection to the influence of the greater but neglected painter. The pendulum has now swung in the opposite direction : Barret is well-nigh forgotten, Wilson is coming into his own. A great exhibition of his pictures was held in Bangor, in 1922. It was followed almost immediately by another, held in the National Gallery of British Art. These two exhibitions greatly enhanced his fame. Collectors and forgers are now busily devoting attention to his works—there are no better tests of prestige.

With Wilson's name we must associate, if only because of their repute, those of George Stubbs and George Morland. Stubbs, who lived between 1724 and 1806, is chiefly known as an animal painter. But the landscapes in which he set his lively dogs and horses are conventional, and his fame owes more to the racehorse-owner and the hunting-man than to the discriminating lover of painting. Morland, who was born in 1763 and died a year before Stubbs, was on a higher plane. He introduced a freshness and a spontaneity into his landscapes which is typically English. It is difficult to say whether he excelled most in landscape, as an animal painter, or as a painter of interiors with figures.

While the epoch-making names of English eighteenth century painters are, undoubtedly, Hogarth, Reynolds,

Gainsborough, Romney and Wilson, there were a great number of extraordinarily talented men working at the same time. Hoppner, who was born in 1759 and died in 1810, fine painter as he was, would doubtless never have produced the works for which he is most admired to-day were it not that Sir Joshua had shown him the way. Lawrence, who was born in 1769, is more original and not less attractive in his art. It is fluent and superficial, but its grace and suavity console us for the absence of deeper qualities.

The history of English eighteenth century painting is mainly the history of English portraiture. This was to be expected of a nation where character has always been far more prized than imagination or intellect. A staid dignity distinguishes most English portraits. They show at times fine decorative effect, but their painters were not much preoccupied with that aim. It is amusing to notice the tendency of most English painters to paint men and women in a different manner. They are apt to lapse into sentimentality in their painting of women and into a broad generalisation of character in the painting of men. It is rarely, indeed, that English portraits show that profound psychological insight which is so continuously apparent in the works of the great painters of Italy, Holland and Spain.

In one branch of portraiture, however, the British painters may be considered supreme. They painted children with the tenderest insight. Reynolds with such pictures as Lord Althorp or the Lady Caroline Howard, Gainsborough with the many portraits of his own daughters, Romney with "Bopeep," Lawrence with "Pinkie," Hoppner with the Sackville children—to cite only a few works—have contributed to form a large group of children's portraits which no other country could, at any time, attempt to rival.

English landscape painting did not culminate till the great age of portraiture had closed; and the landscape

painters have never enjoyed a prestige comparable to that of the portrait painters. Yet their art has a lyric quality that contrasts strangely with the respectable rhetoric which too often pervades the work of the portraitists. A passionate sympathy with clouds, seas, hills, rivers and trees seems to be inherent in the English race.

Turner, who was the son of a barber and born in 1775, and Constable, the son of a miller and who was born a year later, have by their example influenced landscape painting all over the world. The school of Barbizon derives directly from Constable. The Impressionists owe much to Turner who anticipated, instinctively, many of their most cherished theories.

Turner's long and intensely industrious career began with pedestrian, though competent, topographical water-colours in monochrome. Gradually he mastered the styles and methods of all his predecessors in landscape, and soared out beyond them into regions unimagined. He ranged Europe in his search for subjects, transfiguring and ennobling all that he touched. The ocean, the Alps, the great waterways, cities, ports and castles, sunrise and sunset were rendered by him with passionate ecstasy. More and more he came to impose upon the raw material of his art the reflection of the glories that surged in his own flaming imagination. He is closer akin to Shakespeare than any other British painter. "The Evening Star," which he painted towards the end of his long life, in 1840, is a trembling, intangible vision of light, air and water pervaded with a quietude of poignant intensity.

Constable kept closer to the ground in the flights of his fancy; but he, too, was a genius. His subjects are almost all drawn from the English countryside, and he is at his best painting the rich pasture land which lies around the fertile valley of the Stour where he lived as a boy. The breeze blows, the dew glistens, the light dances in all his pictures. They almost seem to emit

the rustling sound of leaves, the murmur of water, so subtle is their sense of never-ceasing movement. He accepts none of the conventions which trammelled the earlier landscape painters. Everything is seen with a fresh eye, clean, cool and vital.

Turner's watercolours are, in the judgment of most critics, at least as significant as his paintings in oil. Constable's watercolours are more in the nature of notations, yet they vibrate with emotion and take a high place in a branch of art in which the British are beyond question unrivalled. J. R. Cozens, Girtin, Cotman and de Wint must rank among the highest names in the roll of British painters, and their work was almost exclusively done in the fragile medium which foreigners have always failed to understand fully or handle effectively. The rapid changes which sudden showers or sunbursts cast across the aspect of England may have much to do with the skilled use of a method of painting which calls for an extremely sensitive observance and the utmost dexterity of handling. The spontaneous reaction to a visual impression which the best English watercolours convey puts them in a class apart.

The nineteenth century was an age of materialism in England. The industrial revolution was not favourable to the cult of visual beauty. The art of William Blake gives proof of a deep spirituality, a force and grandeur that were to find scarcely an echo in his own time or since. Such drawings as "The Angel Rolling away the Stone of the Sepulchre," "The River of Life" or "The Grave" recall, irresistibly, the great name of Michael Angelo. Had not the manufacturers laid their claws on Alfred Stephens and caused the greater part of his life to be wasted designing mass-produced metal ware, he also had probably created or inspired a noble school to recall the lost traditions of English mediaeval painting.

The Pre-Raphaelites were conscious rebels against the environment into which they were born. They erred for

the most part in going outside their personal experience for the subject matter of their art. Italian and German literature inspired too many of their pictures. The sincere appeal of "The Last of England" by Ford Maddox Brown or "The Blind Girl" by Millais indicates the gravity of their customary error. When they painted religious pictures, they were prone to adulterate spiritual realities with archaeological pedantry. Yet Brown, who was not a Pre-Raphaelite in the strict sense, undoubtedly painted the noblest religious picture ever produced in England, his "Christ washing Peter's feet."

Their example as conscientious and highly skilled craftsmen has had one excellent effect on British painting since their time. The standard of workmanship is as high in British painting in the nineteenth century as the standard of taste is low. More accomplished painters than Frith or Landseer are seldom to be found. But mere skill does not suffice to redeem them from the abysmal depths of anecdotage into which they weltered with so many of their contemporaries. Ideals were then at a discount, and great art calls for the employment of rarer qualities of mind than wit or whimsicality.

The time has not yet come to appraise modern British painting. The promoters of the recent British Exhibition were wise in showing nothing that had been produced since 1860. But there are evident signs that the tide has turned. Though it may be invidious to mention the names of living artists, no one interested in the subject can fail to realise that such veteran painters as Sir George Clausen, R.A. and Mr. Wilson Steer, O.M., have already led a large company of the younger generation far into a new world, where thoughtful endeavour has reaped a rich harvest.

It is regrettable that the British exhibition did not have the full success for which its promoters hoped. Had the many books which it generated been published a year or so in advance of its opening, foreigners might

have crossed to England in greater numbers. For such books were much needed, even by the English themselves. Mr. Collins Baker's *British Painting*, with a chapter on mediaeval painting by Dr. Montague James, is likely to remain the standard authority on its subject for a long time. It is the work of a sagacious critic who is also a widely experienced scholar and who has a pleasant prose style. It is illustrated with two hundred and fifty-six well printed reproductions, and furnished with an admirable bibliography and a good index. Mr. John Rothenstein's *Introduction to English Painting* is very well done and is specially interesting for its author's personal judgments, which are sometimes rather provocative. He is more sympathetic and just to Hogarth than is Mr. Collins Baker; but he goes unnecessarily and unwisely far in comparing Hogarth's art favourably with that of Watteau. Mr. Miles F. de Montmorency in his *Short History of Painting in England* discharges his task with great skill in the compass of two hundred and thirty small pages, where there is scarcely a wasted word. His brief chronological table is illuminating. So much has been written about the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood—by themselves, their relatives and their camp-followers—that Mr. Francis Bickley's *The Pre-Raphaelite Comedy* might have seemed to be unnecessary. His lively manner and the new authentic matter which his book contains should make it welcome, despite his candid admission that he has sometimes stated as facts what are really but his own conclusions or deductions. *English Water-Colours* by Mr. Laurence Binyon is exactly what we would expect from a man who has been in close and affectionate contact with the chief masterpieces of the school during all his long official life in the Print Room of the British Museum. It is written in that sincere and lucid style which has won wide and well deserved literary fame for its author.

THOMAS BODKIN

THE PROPHET ELIAS

BY HUGH POPE, O.P., D.S.S.

"ELIAS the Prophet stood up like a fire, and his word burnt like a torch" (Ecclus. xlviii. 1). Read 3 Kgs. xvii to 4 Kgs. ii ; then turn to Ecclus. xlviii. 1-12 from which the above quotation is taken. Was more apt eulogy ever penned ? From the hour when the faithful Eliseus saw him carried away in a whirlwind the figure of Elias was ever present to devout Hebrew minds as one "registered in the judgments of times to come, to appease the wrath of the Lord, to reconcile the heart of the father to the son, and to restore the tribes of Jacob."[1] No Prophet is more often mentioned in the New Testament : the Baptist was to come "in the spiritual power of Elias,"[2] was, indeed, taken for him,[3] as was Christ Himself ;[4] his return was expected ;[5] he appeared at the Transfiguration ;[6] our Lord illustrated his own doctrine by him ;[7] St. James recalled his prayer ;[8] his miracles and his zeal and his ascent in a chariot are eulogised by the father of the Maccabees ;[9] it is amazing that St. Paul should have not numbered him among those glorious for their faith.[10]

"And Elias the Thesbite said to Achab : As the Lord liveth in whose sight I stand there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to the words of my mouth."[11] In this dramatic way is the great Prophet introduced. Like Melchisedec he suddenly appears on the stage of Jewish history "without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days

[1] Ecclus. xlviii. 10. [2] Lk. i. 17, cf. Mal. iv. 5. [3] Jn. i. 21, 25, Mt, xi. 14. [4] Mt. xvi. 14. [5] Mt. xi. 14, *cp.* xxvii. 47-49. [6] Mt. xvii. 3. [7] Lk. iv. 25. [8] Jas. v. 17-18. [9] 1. Macc. 58. [10] Heb. xi.

[11] According to Josephus "Menander mentions this drought in his account of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians : 'Under him there was a want of rain from the month Hyperberetaeus till the month Hyperberetaeus of the year following' ; but when he made supplications there came great thunders," *Ant.* VIII. xiii. 2.

nor end of life."[1] His message delivered, Elias retires to the brook Carith,[2] where the ravens feed him till the brook dried up;[3] thence to Sarephta of Sidon, outside the Promised Land, where the widow, fore-ordained of God, feeds him despite the famine; the cruze of oil is always full, her stricken son is raised up[4]—"who raisest up a dead man from below, from the lot of death."[5]

Then came what must have seemed a terrible command: "Go and shew thyself to Achab." Terrible, for Achab was vindictive, furious because of the famine and because of his failure to discover this elusive Prophet; prompt, too, to slay such as crossed his path, as his steward Abdias well knew: "And now thou sayest, Go, tell thy master: Elias is here, that he may kill me." Yet note "thy master," not "our master" nor "the king"; for Elias is master. He does not go to meet Achab, nor pacify an angry king by promising him rain. No, he pledges himself to "shew" himself to Achab whom Abdias goes to fetch. And "Achab came to meet Elias." He found awaiting him a relentless, stern and awe-inspiring figure. "Art thou he that troublest Israel?" asks the king. That "troublest Israel!" Not simply because the famine was attributed to him, but because his was the strange, mysterious, ever-present yet elusive power of which the people themselves were conscious, which loomed in the background, of which they spoke with bated breath, and of which Achab himself stood in dread. "Art thou he that troublest Israel?" asked the king. Almost a humble question, contrasting strangely with the action of that king's son, Ochozias, who, on learning that the man of mystery had once more appeared, sent his captain with his fifty men to bring him. But Ochozias was young and probably only knew

[1] Heb. vii. 3. [2] This is generally identified with the Wady el Kelt which enters the Ghor of the Jordan about two miles from the Mount of the Quarantine near Jericho.—Cf. Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii. 288 note; Guérin, *Description de la Samarie*, i. 29-31. [3] 3. Kgs. xvii. 7. [4] *Ibid.* 10-24. [5] Ecclus. xlvii. 5.

Elias by hearsay, whereas Achab was old and experienced. He knew that in that presence he might be the "master" in name, but that now he stood in the sight of one who really held the reins; he knew he was there to be judged. And the judgment came, a veritable thunderbolt: "I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy father's house, who have forsaken the Commandments of the Lord and have followed Baalim." And with the judgment came the curt order to assemble all Israel and the prophets of Baal, as well as the queen's band of four hundred prophets "of the groves," that is, of the goddess Ashera. And Achab obeyed.

The wonderful story that follows is condensed. Israel and the prophets were not summoned in a day, nor did they obey in a day. Discussions must have taken place, and the pros and cons of this extraordinary order must have everywhere formed the staple of talk ere the fateful meeting took place. The marvel is that Jezabel did not hear what was contemplated or that, knowing it, she stayed her hand. What a scene it must have been on Carmel that day! Here, as ever, Elias was the master. Many there had never set eyes on him before, though all had heard of him. What had angered him was the way in which the people of the Lord had been deluded: "How long do you halt between two sides?" There is a God of course, he says, but which is the true God—the Lord (Jehovah) or Baal? There is something inexpressibly grand about that solitary and defenceless figure, standing up for his people against the power, wealth and corruption of the court; "I alone remain, a Prophet of the Lord," he cried to the assembled multitude. And Achab? He, too, stood there in an insolation of his own; for there was no Jezabel there to "set him on."

How pathetic, too, the picture of the frenzied prophets of Baal and Ashera! They seem to have had no doubts. Throughout the day they cried to Baal, apparently

convinced that, despite the mocking words of Elias, he would hear them. But when evening came and Baal was obdurate in his silence, Elias stepped forward. His every action was significant. First of all he built up again the long-desecrated altar of Jehovah; and he rebuilt it of twelve stones to signify the twelve Tribes and their essential unity in Jehovah and in Jacob to whom God had given their own glorious name of Israel. Three times did Elias drench the altar and the sacrifice with water, and then he offered a prayer which was sublime in its simplicity: "Shew that Thou art the God of Israel and I Thy servant, and that according to Thy commandment have I done all these things, that this people may learn that Thou, Jehovah, art God and that Thou hast turned their heart again." The contrast between the serene faith of Elias and the frenzied cries of the false prophets must have impressed all the onlookers; and when in response to his prayer the fire fell from heaven, all adored the Lord.

Immediately the scene changes to one of carnage. At Elias' bidding the mighty crowd seized on the prophets of Baal, escorted them to the banks of the torrent below the hill and slew them. To this day the place is known as El Mukrakah or "the place of slaughter." Did Elias slay them all with his own hand? The text seems to imply it, yet so condensed is the narrative that we should hardly be justified in drawing that conclusion. Did he slay only the four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal, or were the four hundred prophets of Ashera included—making eight hundred and fifty in all? Probably all were slain; for Baal worship and Ashera worship were practically synonymous. Moreover these prophets of Ashera were they who "eat at Jezabel's table," and it was she who, when she heard that Elias "had slain all the prophets," sent him her ominous message.

Nor was this the final scene on Carmel. As Achab stood there, moody and terrified, Elias bade him eat

and drink, "for there is a sound of abundance of rain." Yet the "sound" can only have been in the heart of one who, in St. Augustine's words, "saw the designs of God in the mirror of eternity," the rain being yet a long way off. For the weary Prophet the time for eating and drinking was not yet; again he ascended the mount and there he prayed till his messenger told him that at length the harbinger of the coming storm had risen "out of the sea, a little cloud like a man's foot." For Elias there was no exaltation; after prayer came action: "Prepare thy chariot," he said to Achab, "lest the rain prevent thee." Then this man of iron mould who throughout the day had striven with a multitude for their grudging allegiance, and won it, who had built an altar and offered sacrifice, who had, possibly with his own hand, slain at least four hundred and fifty men and had then spent some considerable time in prayer, actually "girded up his loins and ran before Achab till he came to Jezreel"—some sixteen miles. As we read, the dramatic character of the narrative grips us, till we too almost feel the itch to gird our loins beside "the hairy man with a girdle of leather about his loins"[1] and run with him. Twice already has he appeared with a soul-shaking suddenness during three and a half years;[2] he spoke—the heavens became as brass; he spoke again—and the deluge came: "By the word of the Lord he shut up the heaven, and he brought down fire from heaven thrice."[3] Why did God send him to work these portents? To discover this we must try to understand the religious as well as the political history of the times

II

But, as has been well said, "the political situation at this period is difficult to follow. The Hebrew sources of information are very full on Achab's reign and the rise of Jehu. But the men who collected them were

[1] 4. Kgs. i. 8. [2] Jas. v. 17. [3] Ecclus. xlviii. 3.

mainly interested in the religious question and everything which concerned that issue. Here and there they have preserved documents of a more secular character, which in their vividness and fulness only serve to make evident how much has been lost."[1] On the death of Solomon the Ten Tribes had revolted from the House of David under the leadership of Jeroboam I.[2] It was a schism, and henceforth Jeroboam is always spoken of as the man "who made Israel to sin."[3] What was his "sin"? Not that he rent the kingdom of David and Solomon in twain, for in so doing Jeroboam was but the instrument of the Divine wrath, "for this thing is from Me."[4] But, anxious to prevent his people from returning to their allegiance to the Davidic House if they went up as usual to sacrifice in Jerusalem, "finding out a device, he made two golden calves, and said to them: Go ye up no more to Jerusalem. Behold thy gods, O Israel, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt. And he set the one in Bethel and the other in Dan. And this thing became an occasion of sin, for the people went to adore the calf as far as Dan."[5] Further, to secure his position Jeroboam made men who were not of the family of Levi to be priests. He also changed the Feast of Atonement from the seventh to the eighth month;[6] And of this action of his it is expressly said: "For this cause did the house of Jeroboam sin."[7]

Moreover it seems clear that the calf-worship was really worship of Jehovah. It was sinful since it contravened the Decalogue, which forbade "graven images" of the Godhead;[8] but Jeroboam was careful to adapt existing and familiar rites and practices: he had priests, though not of the Levitical race; he kept to the Day of Atonement, but he changed its date. It is significant,

[1] A. C. Welch, *The People and the Book*, p. 138. [2] 3. Kgs. xii. 19ff.
[3] 3. Kgs. xiii. 34, xiv. 16, etc., *cf.* Ecclus. xlvii. 30.
[4] 3. Kgs. xii. 24, *cf.* ver. 15, also xiv. 7-9, xvi. 2, etc.
[5] *Ibid.* xii. 30. [6] *Ibid.* ver. 31.
[7] 3. Kgs. xiii. 34, *cf.* 1. Paral. xi. 14-16. [8] Exod. xx. 4.; Deut. v. 8.

too, that the names of Achab's sons, Jehoram and Ochozias, are compounded with the Divine Name, Jehovah. Yet, though not technically an apostasy, this form of worship degraded the religion that had been taught by Moses. Image-worship was bad enough; but the calf-form must have led directly to idolatry. When we recall the years Jeroboam had spent in Egypt where he had seen the worship of the calf and the bull as Apis and Mnevis, it is difficult to believe that he did not foresee the inevitable goal of his action: "they changed their glory into the likeness of a calf that eateth grass" is the Psalmist's comment on the golden calf Aaron made.[1]

But to argue from the presumed silence of Elias and Eliseus on the form of worship at Bethel is, to say the least, precarious, as the argument from silence always is. Eichhorn, indeed, merely on the ground that we have no record of any protest on their part, jumps to the conclusion that Elias and Eliseus were "actual champions of the Jehovah of Bethel and Dan." Robertson Smith maintains that this from of worship cannot have been intrinsically bad when Amos did not condemn it.[2]

III

The truth of course is that these Prophets were raised up to combat a far greater evil, namely the abominations of the Phoenician Baal worship in which Achab and his house had indulged, apparently at the instigation of Ethbaal king of Tyre and father of Jezabel. This was a return to those degrading Canaanite forms of idolatry which had procured for the latter their destruction at the hands of the Hebrews, but yet which had such a fascination for the conquerors that from their very first contact with it they "sinned in Beelphegor" (Nbs. xxv.).

[1] Ps. cv. 20.

[2] *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 175-6; see, too, *Encyci. Biblica*, col. 1270. That Amos, however, did repeatedly condemn the calf-worship at Bethel is superabundantly evident from such passages as iii. 14, iv. 4, v. 5, vii. 13, viii. 14.

Even the wise Solomon had given in to the same allurements—led away, not by one wife as was Achab, but by many.[1] His punishment was swift: "Thou hast stained thy glory . . . . that thou shouldst make the kingdom to be divided and out of Ephraim a rebellious kingdom to rule."[2] But such apostasy was, on the whole, rare in the kingdom of David, and when it did occur, reforms were prompt. Asa, for instance, speedily removed the orgiastic worship which his mother, apparently a foreigner, had introduced.[3] So, too, when Athalia, herself a daughter of Jezabel, had introduced a similar worship into Jerusalem her grandson removed it so soon as he came of age.[4] Achaz indeed did more in this way to degrade Judah than any king of David's stock either before or after him;[5] but his son Ezechias more than made amends,[6] though his immediate descendants, Manasses and Amon, imitated Achaz in their apostasies;[7] for which however Josias, like Ezechias, made reparation. The last kings of Judah may have been foolish; but they never again became worshippers of Baalim.

It was quite otherwise with the schismatics of Israel. So long as they were schismatics only, though degrading the true worship of Jehovah by presenting Him under the form of a calf, the Prophet Jehu was content to reprove the reigning king, Baasa, for his "vanities."[8] But when Achab inaugurated a systematic worship of Baal and thus "did evil above all that were before him"—an evil which was to spread like a plague into Judah, too, owing to the Phoenician dominance exercised through Jezabel and Athalia—then it was that "Elias the Thesbite said to Achab: As the Lord liveth in whose sight I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years but according to the words of my mouth."[9] It is remarkable that of

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[1] 3. Kgs. xii. 1-13. [2] Ecclus. xlvii. 14-23. [3] 3. Kgs. xv. 12-13. [4] 4. Kgs. xi. 18. [5] *Ibid.* xvi. 1-20. [6] *Ibid.* xviii-xx. [7] *Ibid.* xxi. [8] 3. Kgs. xvi. 1, 12-13, 26. The word translated "vanities" is synonymous with "idols," *cf.* Deut. xxxii. 21, Jer. viii. 19, x. 8, xiv. 22, Ps. xxxi. (Heb.) 7. [9] 3. Kgs. xvi. 30. [3] *Ibid.* xvii. 1.

the thirty chapters in the Books of Kings devoted to the history of the divided kingdom so large a proportion deals with the schismatic kingdom of Israel.[1] So, too, with the Prophets. Isaias, it is true, apparently devotes only two chapters to them; but Osee, Amos and Micheas are concerned with the errant northern kingdom alone. This, of course, was a signal manifestation of the pursuing mercy of God. But modern critics interpret this fact as a proof that Israel was more religious-minded than Judah! "While in Judah," says Peake, "there were movements for reform, such movements, except for the extirpation of the worship of the Tyrian Baal, seem to have been entirely absent in the northern kingdom. Yet it was in it, rather than in Judah, that the main stream of religious development was to be found. This was especially associated with the work of the great prophets from Elijah onwards."[2]

No need to recount here the various deeds of Elias in his campaign against the heathen worship; readers must, indeed we hope they will, turn to the Bible itself for that. But we have to read the narrative with care, if we would arrive at a just appreciation of him of whom it is said: Thou "broughtest down kings to destruction . . . . blessed are they that saw thee and were honoured with thy friendship." At times he appears awful in his sternness, as when he brings down fire from heaven[3] and when he hews in pieces the false prophets as Samuel had hewn Agag.[4] But what could be more tender than his prayer for the dead child?[5] What more noble than his wrath at the injustice perpetrated against Naboth?[6] We may shudder at the awful deaths of those prophets and of the unhappy captains on whom the fire descended,[7] but those were stern times and terrible enormities de-

[1] Thus from 3. Kgs. xii-xxii only xiv. 21-31 and xv. 1-22 deal with Judah; in 4. Kgs. i-xvii, cha. viii, xi-xii, xiv-xv deal in part with Judah.
[2] *The People and the Book*, p. 260.
[3] 3. Kgs. xviii. 38, 4. Kgs. i. 10, 12.
[4] 3. Kgs. xviii. 40, xix. 1; 1. Sam.xv. 32-33.
[5] 3. Kgs. xviii. 20-21. [6] *Ibid.* xxi. [7] 4. Kgs. i.

manded awe-inspiring punishments. To what extremes would not we go to crush out cannibalism, for instance, did it begin to flourish in our midst? It is folly to condemn something that we who live so remote from those days cannot understand. We have to remember the Divine words addressed to James and John who, as they passed through that very land of Samaria where these things had happened, suggested that, like another Elias, the Saviour should call down fire on those who repudiated Him: "Ye know not of what spirit ye are."[1]

But there is one outstanding scene in the life of Elias which we cannot pass over. When Achab told Jezabel of the slaughter of the prophets, she "sent a messenger to Elias, saying: Such and such things may the gods do to me and add still more, if by this hour to-morrow I make not thy life as the life of one of them!" [2] Then, adds the Scripture "Elias was afraid."[3] It sounds like an anticlimax. Yet how natural it was. For this terrible woman was the power behind the throne; of the unhappy Achab we read: "for his wife Jezabel set him on;"[4] and we know how she had dealt with Naboth.[5]

And in his fear Elias fled, first to Bersabee hallowed by memories of the Patriarchs, then to Horeb where the Law had been given to Moses. We can understand his fear. But his flight? Some would see in it a proof of weakness; yet that seems incompatible with all that we know of him. Was it due to despondency at the thought that, after all, he had not succeeded in crushing idolatry? This is quite a common view. Yet what hint is there that he had not succeeded? Nor was this rock-hewn man of the wilderness, whose watch-word seems to have been "the Lord in whose sight I stand,"[6] likely to regard his Divine commission as in any way

[1] Lk. ix. 55. [2] 3. Kgs. xix.

[3] 3. Kgs. xix. 1. The present Hebrew text has "saw" for "afraid," the Rev. Version "And when he saw that, he arose . . ." But the Vulgate Latin and the Greek shew that St. Jerome must have read the Hebrew—as it can be read—"And he was afraid."

[4] 3. Kgs. xxi. 25. [5] 3. Kgs. xxi. 5-15.

[6] 3. Kgs. xvii. 1, xviii. 15.

dependent on his own puny human efforts. As we read once more the story of that unforgettable scene on Carmel and the race before the storm to Jezreel, we get a glimpse of the terrible strain all that had involved. Is it necessary to look for any other explanation of his cry: "It is enough for me; Lord take away my soul, for I am no better than my fathers!" But why did he go to Horeb? Simply because of a Divine command to do so. "Arise, eat," said the Angel, "for thou hast yet a great way to go."[1] Modern critics however can never see anything but the human agent at work: "His utter despondency," says Peake, "in the wilderness and at Horeb follows strangely on his miraculous triumph on Carmel . . . . a right understanding of the experience at Horeb is essential to the right appreciation of the personality and work of the prophet. He goes to "the mount of God" that in His original earthly home he may find the Deity who had revealed Himself to Moses . . . . He too, like his great predecessor (Exod. xxxiii. 18-23), will stand in the cleft of the rock."[2]

And so he journeys to Horeb.[3] In our Douay version we read: "and he abode in a cave;" but the text has "*the* cave," meaning presumably the historic cave or cleft in the rock where Moses was vouchsafed his wondrous vision of the majesty of God.[4] And outside that cleft Elias too received his message; no vision was shewn him; but he was made to realise that not always through storm and earthquake did God act, but sometimes by "a still or small voice."[5] At that he comes and stands before the cave and, in answer to the question: "What dost thou here Elias?" he repeats his lament. It is the cry of a spent and weary man, surely not of one in despair, else had he never gone to Horeb. Then comes the Divine word: he is to return north, to Damascus,

[1] 3. Kgs. xix. 7, and note his sleep of exhaustion.
[2] In *The People and the Book*, p. 261.
[3] The Hebrew and all the versions, apparently, have "forty"; but owing to the method of writing figures in Hebrew it is quite possible that we ought to read "four." [4] Exod. xxxiii. 22, xxxiv. 9. [5] 3. Kgs. xix. 12.

but significantly, " through the desert "—in other words, not through the territories of Judah and Israel, as he had come; when there, he is to do even greater things than hitherto, for he is to anoint for God's work of vengeance on apostate Israel three chosen instruments: Hazael to be king in Syria, Jehu to annihilate the apostate House of Achab amid scenes of awful bloodshed, and Eliseus to succeed him as God's Prophet.

Did Elias' mission close with the anointing of Eliseus? At first sight it would seem so. Yet once more he steps on to the stage of Israel's history, and once more his sudden and unlooked for appearance spells disaster. The awful happenings in the days of Achab and Jezabel, with the deaths that met them both in accordance with Elias' prophecy, should, one would have thought, have stamped out idolatry in Israel—at least for a time. Yet when Ochozias, son of Achab, fell sick, it was to Beelzebub of Accaron that he sent. But on their journey thither his emissaries were suddenly faced by an awful apparition, while a voice thundered out: " Is there not a God in Israel that ye go to consult Beelzebub the god of Accaron? From the bed on which thou art gone up thou shalt not come down, but thou shalt surely die. And Elias went away." " What manner of man was he who met you? " asked the king on their too speedy return. " A hairy man, with a girdle about his loins," was the answer. Only too well did Ochozias, son of Achab, know who that was. How often had he heard his father and mother bemoaning the comings and goings of that spectral figure, of one whom Ochozias had perhaps thought long dead. He must have groaned in spirit and, like Ezechias, turned his face to the wall as he murmured: " It is Elias the Thesbite! " But with a courage worthy of a better cause he determined on a bold line of action. He would do what his father had never dared do, what his mother had wanted to do but failed, he would take this harbinger of woe alive and perhaps put him to an awful death.

The story, even at this distance of time, is a terrible one. The captain with his fifty men may have hoped to find that once more Elias had disappeared; but the emissaries found him seated on a hill top, apparently awaiting their return. "Man of God," said the soldier, "come down." It was a challenge; for no man who really believed he was "a man of God" would treat him like that. In response to Elias' acceptance of the challenge fire came down from heaven and consumed the soldiery; and so with the next messenger and his men. But at the command of the Lord Elias went with the third messenger and his men and came to stand by the sick bed of the king and repeat his previous denunciation. It must have been an awe-inspiring spectacle as the man of the desert, the subduer of Achab and the defier of the all-dreaded Jezabel, the Prophet whose words had always come to pass, the man who, single-handed, had triumphed over and slain those great bands of false prophets, strode undaunted through the streets of Samaria and up to the ivory palace that Achab had built. No guard said him "nay," no servant bade him wait till the king would see him. But on he strode, clad with his mantle, a man of the free desert, he who had conversed with God on Horeb even as Moses had done. And now he stood by the bedside of a youth whose life was typical of all that was worst in apostate Israel, child of Achab with something of his fearlessness, child of Jezabel with something perhaps of her Phoenician contempt for insignificant Israel. And as he looked down on the stricken man he thundered forth his message: "Thou shalt surely die!" "So," continues the narrative, "he died, according to the word of the Lord which Elias spoke." We can picture the stern gaunt figure striding down the stairway, looking neither to right nor left, scornful of the effeminacy and luxury which met him everywhere, and turning his face resolutely towards his beloved desert and towards his God.

HUGH POPE

THE CELTIC TWILIGHT

BY FRANCIS SHAW, S.J., M.A.

Part II.—The Celtic Element in the Poetry of W. B. Yeats *

IN an article on *The Celtic Twilight* in the last number of STUDIES an effort was made to trace the development of the "pseudo-Celtic" idea—the idea that Celtic and especially Irish literature is predominantly shadowy and dreamy. It was maintained that, while this is indeed the chief mark of the literature of the "Celtic Twilight," it is not characteristic of any period of Irish literature. In this study I propose to develop the subject further and to illustrate what has been said by an examination of the "Celtic" element in the work of the greatest of the poets of the Celtic Twilight.

It may be well to define at the very outset the scope of this proposed examination. Firstly, it is not my intention to treat of *all* the poetry of Mr. Yeats. I am only concerned with the "Celtic Twilight" phase. Mr. Yeats has quite definitely outgrown his romanticism and has long since returned, like Oisin, from his Otherworld of Druid dreams and fancies. Secondly, I wish to make it perfectly clear that I am not passing any judgment on the literary worth of this poetry. I have no wish to question the high reputation which Mr. Yeats's lyrical poems have won for him. With one matter alone am I engaged—the question whether the supposedly Celtic element in Mr. Yeats's poetry is in reality Celtic or not.

The objection may be raised immediately that Mr. Yeats is a poet and as such is entitled to treat his subject matter (wherever he gets it) as he will. The question,

* For Part I see March issue

however, cannot be dismissed so lightly; for while it is true that Mr. Yeats is a poet, it is none the less true that he is the inspirer and active fosterer of a "movement." He is not a poet only, but also an able controversialist, who in many places and with much vigour has defined and defended his aims. In his Lecture before the Royal Academy of Sweden (on the occasion of his receiving the Nobel Prize), we find Mr. Yeats speaking "of the work of my generation in Ireland, the creation of a literature *to express national character and feeling* but with no political aim."[1] In his *Essay on the Celtic Element in Literature*, he writes: "'The Celtic movement,' as I understand it, is principally the opening of this fountain" (*i.e.*, "the great fountain of Gaelic legends").[2] In *The Literary Movement in Ireland* [3] he speaks of Irish literature prolonging "its first inspiration without renouncing the complexity of ideas and emotions which is the inheritance of cultivated men"; and in *A Note on National Drama:* "It (our Irish romantic movement) should make Ireland, as Ireland and all other lands were in ancient times, a holy land to her own people."[4] And again in *Letters to the New Island* Mr. Yeats tells us: "With Irish literature and Irish thought alone have I to do . . . . from that great candle of the past we must all light our little tapers." In the face of these clear statements, we are surely justified in inquiring how far Mr. Yeats has succeeded in achieving his purpose.

But even if Mr. Yeats had never penned a line concerning his aims, there would still be justification for making this inquiry. For there are the literary critics—and their name is legion—who have hailed this poet's work as characteristically Celtic and Irish. The pages of literary criticism of the work of the "Celtic Twilight" phase are strewn with Celtic this and that—Celtic dreaminess,

[1] W. B. Yeats, *The Bounty of Sweden*, p. 7. Dublin, 1925. Italics mine.
[2] *Ideas of Good and Evil.* p. 188. London. 1914.
[3] In *Ideals in Ireland*, ed. by Lady Gregory. 1901.
[4] In *Literary Ideals in Ireland.* London. 1899.

Celtic magic, Celtic mystery. Even Mr. Ernest Boyd, the most satisfactory critic of the Celtic Revival, speaks of "those artistic and *racial* qualities which constitute the *raison d'être* of the Celtic Renaissance."[1] And a recent English critic writes: "For Mr. Yeats's Irishness is more than a matter of using Irish themes and an Irish atmosphere. It means that his *dream-world is something more than private, personal and literary;* it means that it has, as it were, *an external validation,*"[2] and this statement is supported by a passage from an essay of Mr. Yeats, where the poet speaks of filling his mind with Irish lore.

That O'Grady was the chief channel through which the old Irish sagas were made accessible to the early poets of the Celtic Twilight we know already. Both Mr. Yeats and Æ have frequently acknowledged their debt to this writer. In *The Celtic Twilight* and in the *Essay on the Celtic Element in Literature*, Mr. Yeats makes it clear that he accepted substantially the views of Renan and Arnold on Celtic literature, though he gives his own explanation of the 'Celtic characteristics' and disclaims that he or his contemporaries founded any argument upon them. Nor should it be overlooked that in the "Celtic Twilight" there is very much of the *Zeitgeist* of the romantic movement. A possible link between Macpherson and Mr. Yeats is William Blake, whose writings exercised a strong influence on the poet's early years and whose poems he edited, and who (as Dr. Robin Flower observes) was "the one great English poet whose style suffered the infection of Ossian."[3] The influence of Rousseau is very evident in Mr. Yeats's glorification of the "natural" man, the primitive man who basks in

[1] *Ireland's Literary Renaissance.* p. 11. London. 1923. Italics mine.
[2] F. R. Leavis: *New Bearings in English Poetry.* p. 34. London. 1932. Italics mine.
[3] *Byron and Ossian.* Byron Foundation Lecture. Nottingham. 1928. This little booklet, which I had not read when I wrote the first article, treats of the influence of Macpherson on Byron, and shows by comparative examples how different in spirit is the Irish Oisín from the Macpherson creation.

the warmth of a joyous existence " clear of the nets of wrong and right," free alike from the worries of moral responsibilities and the complexities of the social order. " The Celtic Movement " for Mr. Yeats is the return to this blissful state.[1] For the poet sees in the world of the ancient Irish sagas just such a region of unadulterated joy and holiness. This idealisation will not easily be appreciated by one who reads these texts at first-hand. The strongest grade of rose-tinted glasses must be used if we would see the world of ancient Irish saga as Mr. Yeats wishes us to see it. There is in those sagas much that is noble and good; the rougher natural virtues, bravery, generosity, manliness, a fine spirit of fair-play, find full expression. But there are very definitely the darker shades in the picture, cruelty, vengeance, jealousy, violence.[2] There are the irrational burdens imposed by the *geasa*, which appear to have been an important element in that life. Incidentally the idea that in the Irish sagas the notion of moral right and wrong is unknown is quite unfounded. One of the few things we know about the ethical teaching of the Druids is the triad recorded by Diogenes Laertius: " Worship the gods, Do no evil, Be manly."

In *The Literary Movement in Ireland* Mr. Yeats complains that Christianity and classical learning have banished sanctity and romance from the world. By sanctity is to be understood that state in which " a man could hardly plough his fields or follow his sheep upon the hillside without remembering some august story, or walking softly lest he had divine companions." With the progress of civilisation " romance fled to more and more remote fairy-lands " . . . . " If she (Ireland) can make us believe that the beautiful things that move us to awe . . . . are in truth, and not in phantasy alone the symbols or the dwellings of immortal presences, she will

[1] For an unqualified idealisation of the world of the ancient Irish sagas cf. Æ's *Ideals in Ireland. Priest or Hero?* Dublin. 1897.

[2] Cf. Gougaud. *Christianity in Celtic Lands.* p. 11. London. 1932.

have begun a change that . . . . will some day make all lands holy lands again." Mr. Yeats seems to ignore entirely the insuperable, irrational burdens imposed upon primitive peoples generally by the spirits which they see in trees and waters. There are many in the world to-day, in Africa for example, who tread softly lest they have divine companions; but there is in their lives, unfortunately, but little of sanctity and less of romance. Further, when Mr. Yeats speaks of Christianity and the return to Greece and Rome as banishing *romance* and *sanctity*, he might, I think, with profit reflect on the history of the two words. Again in his essay on *The Theatre, The Pulpit and The Newspapers*,[1] Mr. Yeats displays an unwonted petulance in speaking of the "chimera of the Pulpit" and says that literature is nothing to the priest. When Mr. Yeats writes in this strain, it seems to me that he too lightly overlooks the fact that, if it were not for the broad-minded culture of the Irish monasteries of the eighth and following centuries,[2] he himself would have had to go elsewhere for the themes of many of his own works.

From what has been said it must be clear that in so far as the "Celtic movement" advocates a return to a blissful, joyous world free from moral responsibilities and cares, it is inviting us to enter a "dream-world" which exists in the imagination of Mr. Yeats, but which finds no "external validation" in the ancient Irish sagas. The expression "dream-world" is an apt one, for the poetry of the Celtic Twilight phase is dream-sodden. It is permeated by an almost formal cult of dreams. Its atmosphere is sluggish, soporific, unreal. The reader moves through "a dream-heavy land" . . . . "where time is drowned in odour-laden winds and Druid moons." It is a region where "the dews drop slowly and dreams gather," a region of "gray twilight" and

[1] *Plays and Controversies*. p. 60-61. London. 1923.
[2] Cf. Thurneysen. *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*. p. 11. Halle. 1921.

" dove-gray fairy-lands " and " lilies of death-pale hope," where dwell the " dim Powers of drowsy thought." It is a land of " Druid twilight," a land of " immortal, mild, proud shadows " where everywhere are " faeries dancing under the moon, a Druid land, a Druid tune." There dwell in this strange domain beings with " cloud-pale eyelids and dream-dimmed eyes " and lips covered with " odorous twilight." We move " deep among pale eyelids, heavy with the sleep men have named beauty." Those shadowy wraiths " with pearl-pale hands " live under " a curd-pale moon " and Happiness comes for each when

> . . . one has seen in the redness of wine
> The Incorruptible Rose,
>
> That drowsily drops faint leaves on him
> And the sweetness of desire,
> While time and the world are ebbing away
> In twilights of dew and of fire.

In this land of Shadowy Waters (the sea is " a symbol of the drifting indefinite bitterness of life "),[1] where always is heard the Wind among the Reeds (" I use the wind as a symbol of vague desires and hopes[1] . . . "), " dreams that have had dreams for father live in us " and here at last

> " We shall no longer hear the little cry
> Of our sad hearts that may not live nor die."[2]

Such then is the " dream-world " of the Celtic Twilight. It illustrates well Mr. Yeats's probably unexcelled ability in expressing a mood, in creating an atmosphere; but to what degree can it be said " to express national character and feeling ? " It expresses the character of the Celt as given by Renan and Arnold—the ineffectual,

[1] W. B. Yeats. *The Wind among the Reeds.* pp. 90 and 86. London. 1899.
[2] If any reader should consider that this synthesis of quotations is *ex parte* evidence, let him turn instead to the picture given by Mr. Forrest Reid, the very competent (and sympathetic) literary biographer of Mr. Yeats. *W. B. Yeats.* pp. 80-84. London. 1915.

romantic dreamer who lives in a constant state of "reaction against the despotism of fact." It is significant that an unbiassed critic finds the mood of Mr. Yeats's work "at one with the Celt's spirit of immemorial revolt against the tyranny of the real."[1] Another observes that "the Sidhe were the natural creation of the dreamy and mocking Irish mind amid the illusory uncertain lights and mists of the Irish countryside."[2] But the idea of the Irish peasant who spends his life mooning and moping among the fairies finds little acceptance to-day. Mr. Bernard Shaw among others has helped to kill it. The Irish peasant of the Western sea-board may have his superstitions and his belief in fairies, but there is no more hard-headed person and none whose life is more closely wedded to reality. It is notorious, too, that the Irish peasant will go to great lengths to ensure that the seeker after fairies be not disappointed, and "no Irish resident fails to be impressed by the fact that the choicest antics of the fairies are reserved for the credulous tourists."[3] Even Mr. Yeats, we can be sure, does not take all the spirits and fairies too seriously, as for example, that evil spirit which appeared to a young woman as something "flapping and rolling along the road . . . . It had the likeness of a newspaper . . . . and she knew by the size of it that it was the *Irish Times*"![4]

Mr. Yeats's statement that "the intellect of Ireland is romantic and spiritual rather than scientific and analytic" might well be mistaken for a sentence from Renan or Arnold. "I cannot pray, as Christians used to pray," writes Mr. Seumas O'Sullivan, in the best "Celtic Twilight" tradition, "because I have heard the voice of Lord Angus in the trees." And Mr. Yeats writes: "Everyone is a visionary, if you scratch him deep enough.

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[1] H. S. Krans. *W. B. Yeats and the Irish Literary Revival.* p. 73. London. 1905.
[2] Edmund Wilson. *Axel's Castle.* p. 29. London. 1931.
[3] Andrew E. Malone. *The Irish Drama.* p. 241. London. 1929.
[4] W. B. Yeats. *The Celtic Twilight.* p. 69. London. 1902.

The Celt is a visionary without scratching."[1] It would seem, however, that these opinions are not to be taken too seriously. They are but part of the stage make-up of the "Celtic Twilight." They are part of an academic attitude and when, as in times of serious controversy, poses are forgotten, the academic attitude is liable to be overlooked. "I do not think it is a national prejudice that makes me believe we are a harder, a more masterful race than the comfortable English of our time and that this comes from *an essential nearness to reality* of those few scattered people who have a right to call themselves the Irish race"; and with reference to an Irish peasant's outspoken preference for realism: "That is the peasant mind as I know it, a mind that delights in strong sensations whether of beauty or of ugliness, in bare facts and is quite without sentimentality." These unequivocal appreciations of the Irishman's "essential nearness to reality," for which I pleaded in the article on "The Celtic Twilight," are from the pen of none other than Mr. Yeats himself! But it is not the Yeats of *The Celtic Twilight* and of *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry*, but that very different person, the able and incisive controversialist of *Plays and Controversies*.[2]

To what extent then may it be said that Mr. Yeats's "dream-world" finds an "external validation" in Irish literature? That question has already been answered in my first article. Those who alone are qualified to pass judgment, the scholars who have made the acquaintance of Irish literature at first hand (whose opinions were quoted), assure us that Irish literature, especially the older literature, is no region of twilight mists and indolent dreaminess, but is on the contrary essentially a literature of vigorous action and full blooded life. The fact of the matter is that while Mr. Yeats went to O'Grady and Lady Gregory for his themes, he went to his "Brahmin

[1] *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry*. p. x. London. 1888.
[2] W. B. Yeats. *Plays and Controversies*. pp. 95 and 146.

philosopher " and Madame Blavatsky for his inspiration. From his Brahmin teacher he received—to use his own words—" a philosophy that confirmed my vague speculations and seemed at once logical and boundless."[1] Sinnett's *Esoteric Buddhism* was read side by side with O'Grady's *History of Ireland.* Speaking of the " Celtic Twilight," Mr. A. E. Malone, one of the few critics who has no delusions whatever about this subject, writes: " There is more of Asia than of Europe in it, and more of India than of Ireland."[2] In Mr. Yeats's work a framework of Irish sagas and legends has been used to carry his oriental philosophy, in which the ideal of perfect beatitude is but one stage removed from the Nirvana of Buddhism. Mr. Yeats's philosophy of life—if we may speak of a philosophy where no attempt at intellectual justification is given—may be studied in the essay on *Magic* in *Ideas of Good and Evil* and in the privately printed *A Vision* (1925). In his defence or exposition of the Yeatsian philosophy, Mr. Forrest Reid, in an essential link in his argument, says: " And if the deepest truth is arrived at by way of the imagination, it follows that . . . ."[3] Unless one is prepared to admit the supposition in the protasis of this sentence, the philosophy of Mr. Yeats must remain unintelligible. I have deliberately left the quotation unfinished because, according to this system of logic, the conclusion may, it is presumed, be safely left to the individual imagination. In any case, is it not a little surprising to find " the great fountain of Gaelic legends " pouring forth, by some strange perversion, a pure stream of oriental theosophy ?

Mr. Yeats's philosophy of inertia and intellectual atrophy derives entirely from Eastern or (when we think

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[1] W. B. Yeats. *Autobiographies.* p. 113. London. 1926. Cf. *The Pathway* W. B. Yeats Coll. Works, Vol. VIII, 191. For the poet's connection with Madame Blavatsky and the Theosophical Movement Cf. *Autobiographies* pp. 214-226, and Boyd: *Ireland's Literary Renaissance.* Ch. x.

[2] *The Irish Drama.* p. 131.

[3] Forrest Reid. *W. B. Yeats.* p. 208.

of Madame Blavatsky)[1] from pseudo-Eastern sources; it is in no sense Irish or Celtic. There is nothing in the philosophical teaching of the Druids to support it.[2] The Old Irish collections of triads and ethical instructions, as for example the *Tecosca Cormaic*,[3] set no value on the dreamer and his dreams. On the contrary they show a very keen appreciation of the real and the practical. "Gazing at glowing embers" is one of the things mentioned in the latter text as being "worst for the body of man." That old Irish literature is not a literature of dreams and indolence is, I think, sufficiently attested in those long lists of the various kinds of stories and sagas preserved in several Irish manuscripts.[4] Like every other human being possessed of the faculty of imagination, the Irishman has had his dreams, his romances, his imaginative tales. These are the recreations of a fundamentally realistic mind, and they in no way imply a repudiation of reality. But in the "Celtic Twilight" phase Mr. Yeats quite definitely repudiates reality. He turns his back on the real world and pitches his tent among the fairies. He yearns after the ideal expressed in *The Shadowy Waters*.

> "All would be well
> Could we but give us wholly to the dreams
> And get into their world that to the sense
> Is shadow and not linger wretchedly
> Among substantial things."

In Irish literature the romantic imaginative element is but a branch on the trunk of an essentially realistic literature; in the Celtic Twilight it is the whole tree itself —or rather not a tree at all, but a frail tissue of filmy gossamer. No one, I think, who reads Meyer's *Selections*

[1] That Madame Blavatsky was an impostor and a charlatan is conclusively proved in an article *The Foundress of Theosophy* by H. Thurston in *Studies*, Sept. 1921.

[2] Cf. T. D. Kendrick. *The Druids*. pp. 104-121. London. 1927.

[3] Edited by Kuno Meyer. R.I.A. Todd Lecture Series. Dublin. 1909.

[4] Cf. O'Curry, *Manuscript Materials*. p. 584. Dublin. 1861; and *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, Vol. II, p. 43 *seq*. Halle. 1908.

from Ancient Irish Poetry, Professor O'Rahilly's *Measgra Dánta* and Miss Knott's *Irish Syllabic Poetry*, to mention three representative and easily accessible anthologies, will question these statements about Irish poetry.

Mr. Yeat's cult of dreams fitted perfectly into the Renan-Arnoldian scheme of Celtic literature. Over very real figures drawn from the very real world of the old Irish sagas, Mr. Yeats cast his "Druid" spell and there emerged into his shadowy twilight-land dreamy disembodied wraiths. "His plays repudiate the actual world as essentially as his incantatory lyrics and his esoteric prose repudiate it."[1] The stage-setting for *The Land of Heart's Desire* is indeed the stage-setting for the whole "Celtic Twilight" period. "It is night, but the moon or a late sunset glimmers through the trees and carries the eye far off into a vague, mysterious world." *The Shadowy Waters*, that "dream-poem,"[2] as Mr. Reid calls it, in which there is nothing but "the dreams the drowsy gods breathe on the burnished mirror of the world," may be compared with the Irish *Imram Brain*.[3] They are both voyages in quest of perfect happiness. But the Irish poem has nothing dreamy or shadowy in it. It implies no repudiation of reality and no flight from substantial things; for the ideal of happiness expressed in it is but an intensification and an idealisation of "substantial things"—beautiful scenery, health and wealth, 'sweet music,' 'golden chariots,' 'steeds of yellow gold,' 'a delight of the eyes . . . . is the plain on which the hosts hold games.' Anyone who will take the trouble to read these two poems side by side will inevitably see that Mr. Yeats's poem would lose nothing, but would rather gain greater unity and conviction, if instead of Forgael and

[1] *New Bearings in English Poetry*. p. 38. Cf. "The shadowy dream-world in which Yeats invariably casts the action of his plays could not have failed to deprive *Deirdre* of its essential humanity." Boyd, *Ireland's Literary Renaissance*, p. 161. Indeed I have often thought that an interesting essay could be written on that *Fourth Sorrow of Storytelling*—the tragic fate of Deirdre at the hands of the Anglo-Irish dramatists.

[2] *loc. cit.* p. 110.

[3] Edited by Kuno Meyer. *The Voyage of Bran* (two vols.). London. 1895. Cf. Vol. 1 pp. 224–225, 229.

Dectora, Mr. Yeats had called the chief characters Vijaya and Anashuya.[1]

The Druids become in Mr. Yeats's pages the High-Priests of the cult of dreaminess and the word "Druid" becomes synonymous with "dreamy." But the Druids were not dreamers. On the contrary, they were men who by long years of discipline and study qualified themselves for the not too romantic role of schoolmaster or university professor. In later times they degenerated into being mere magicians and sorcerers; but again I have yet to learn that there is anything peculiarly "dreamy" about the always more or less lucrative practice of sorcery.

Fergus MacRóich, the bold fighter and sturdy man of action of the Táin epic, is transformed by Mr. Yeats into "the proud and dreaming king" who relinquished his crown when he understood that

> "A wild and foolish labourer is a king
> To do and do and do and never dream."[2]

The manner in which Mr. Yeats has orientalised the material drawn from Irish literature is nowhere more manifest than in *The Wanderings of Oisin.* This poem, we are told, "is founded upon the Middle Irish dialogues of S. Patrick and Oisin and a certain Gaelic poem of the last century."[3] All the colloquies between St. Patrick and Oisín (or Caoilte) have for their prototype that famous collection of *Fianaigecht* tradition, *Acallamh na Senórach.*[4] In all of them, as in the *Acallamh* itself,

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[1] Cf. W. B. Yeats. *Collected Poems.* p. 10. London. 1933.

[2] In a note to this poem (*Collected Poems* p. 442) Mr. Yeats admits that his imagination has dealt too freely with Fergus. What is important is that the change is from a sturdy man of action to a dreamer; and the reason which Mr. Yeats gives, that "I only knew him in Mr. Standish O'Grady," is a direct confirmation of the thesis of this study.

[3] Ibid. p. 451. The notes to Mr. Yeats's poems have, as Mr. Reid says of those in *The Wind among the Reeds*, "a perhaps deliberately wandering and careless beauty." Certainly the poetic licence, especially in matters of etymology and mythology, has to cover a multitude of sins.

[4] Edited by O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica.* London 1892, and Stokes in *Irische Texte* IV. pt. I.

the Fiana (their spokesman is usually Oisín)[1] state in homely words the case for Fionn and his times against those of the religious innovators. In concrete unmysterious language they speak of the joys that were; the feasting and fighting, the games and the chase, the beauties of Nature and the joyfulness of good fellowship. "From first to last . . .," writes Dr. Flower,[2] in speaking of the spirit of those very colloquies, "it is the expression of a people whose occupation and whose joy are the fight and the chase . . . . the memories that come back to Ossian in his age are not the ghosts of old time, but the living companions of his youth." The reality in those poems "is that active life under the sky and all its environment of hill and wood and plain and sea . . ." There are many Irish poems, like *Mian mhic Cumhaill fá maith gnaoi*,[3] which tell of the delights of the Fiana, of their love of Nature and of the fight and the chase, but in none of them, nor anywhere else in the *Fianaigecht* literature, is there any suggestion that their hearts were yearning for a land of dreams and twilight.

The "certain Gaelic poem" mentioned by Mr. Yeats is Mícheál Cuimin's *Laoi Oisín ar Thír na n-Og*. It is so well-known that the briefest summary of it will suffice. It is the story of Oisín's journey with Niamh to the Gaelic otherworld. No one who reads the poem can fail to be struck by the very homely unmysterious *Tír na n-Og* there depicted. The delights of this Irish paradise (as described by Niamh) are amazingly concrete and real; in fact the description reads at times like an advertisment for a modern hotel. There are beautiful buildings and wonderful raiment, superb cuisine and unexcelled wine-list. Among the other good things are sweet music, good weapons, hounds and horses and even cows and

[1] That Caoilte, in *Acallamh na Senórach*, has displaced the original Oisín is shown by Hyde, *Revue Celtique* Vol. 37, p. 289.

[2] *Byron and Ossian*. p. 15.

[3] O'Rahilly, *Measgra Dánta*. p. 56. Cf. *Ibid* poems 35-43 and *Duanaire Finn* poems xxvi–xxix.

sheep. Niamh and the King of the land behave in a very human fashion. The King greets Oisín with a hearty handshake and a *céad míle fáilte*. They spread before Oisín all classes of food and great variety of liquid refreshment. After ten days and nights of revelry, Oisín is wedded to Niamh. Three beautiful children are born, and Oisín spends three hundred years in this idealised version of our own world. Let us turn then to Mr. Yeats's poem. Immediately we see the contrast. "It is dominated by a dream-laden mood . . . .," writes Mr. Reid, "and the rich, at times almost sluggish melody of the verse, gives it an atmosphere as dreamy and strange as that of the Lotos-Eaters."[1] The inhabitants of Mr. Yeats's otherworld may, I think, be conveniently divided into three classes: those who are just emerging from a Druid swoon, those who actually are in a Druid swoon, and the rest—those who at a moment's notice may go off into a Druid swoon. On the very shore of the land a million strange weird birds stood

> Like drops of frozen rainbow light,
> And pondered in a soft vain mood
> Upon their shadows in the tide. . . .

Instead of meeting a homely king who would greet him in a human friendly manner, Oisín is brought to the hall

> Where Aengus dreams from sun to sun
> A Druid dream of the end of days
> When the stars are to wane and the world be done.[2]

Through this strange domain Oisín is led "by long and shadowy ways."

> And now still sad we came to where
> A beautiful young man dreamed within
> A house of wattles . . . .

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 34 and 36.

[2] Incidentally, as may be seen in the old Irish story *Aislinge Óenguso* (The Dream of Óengus), when Aengus did dream, his dreams were not of such shadowy texture. Cf. *Revue Celtique*. Vol. III, p. 344.

After this person had delivered himself of a short paean on the nature of joy, which apparently overtaxed his youthful constitution,

> With one long glance on maid and boy
> And the pale blossom of the moon,
> He fell into a Druid swoon.

Then Oisín "wrapped in dreams rode out again" and came upon a great number of immortals disporting themselves in the Yeatsian manner:

> The immortals moved among the fountains
> By rivers and the woods' old night;
> Some danced like shadows on the mountains
> Some wandered ever hand in hand,
> Or sat in dreams on the pale strand . . . .
> And sang, and with a dreamy gaze
> Watched where the sun in a saffron blaze
> Was slumbering half in the sea ways.

Such is the "Celtic" otherworld of Mr. Yeats's poem and such its inhabitants. The true Celtic otherworld "was a place of rural happiness," writes Dr. MacNeill in *Celtic Religion*;[1] "in it the pleasures of mortal life were idealised, among them the beauties of nature and of art, music, games, feasting, and, to complete the scheme of ancient Celtic felicity, heroic warfare." It is unnecessary to pursue this comparative analysis further, though the Second and Third Books of *The Wanderings* might be compared with the Irish *Voyages* (as for example *Immram Curaig Maile Dúin*), which, while they are in highest degree imaginative and fantastic, are in no sense shadowy or dreamy. In Mr. Yeats's poem, the promise of substantial things (following Cuimin's poem) is not realised, and though Oisín moves about and feasts and dances, these actions are so "wrapped in dreams" that they lose all relation to reality. The slaying of the monster (which in the Irish poem is expeditiously effected) becomes a hundred years battle with "a husky demon

[1] In *The History of Religions*. London. 1910.

dry as a withered sedge" in a land "where shadowy face flowed into shadowy face." The maiden who is rescued by Oisín from this monster is described in the Irish poem as having "cheeks of the colour of the rose .... blue eyes clear and cloudless ... and lips of the colour of berries." In Mr. Yeats's poem she becomes

"A maiden with soft eyes like funeral tapers
And face that seemed wrought out of moonlight vapours."

I wish to abstract entirely from the question of the literary worth of *The Wanderings of Oisin*. It is unnecessary to say that from a literary point of view Cuimin's poem is not to be compared with it. But I do submit that its dreamy, indolent, exotic spirit, which has in it much that is oriental in flavour, is directly antithetical to the spirit of the Irish poems on which it is founded, or of Irish literature generally. Writing in the *Bookman* (Dec. 1933) about the Berbers of North Africa, who are styled "the little black Celts," Mr. Wyndham Lewis says: "There is much of the 'Celtic Twilight' about their most everyday habits—as when you see two tall, willowy and beardless braves, inanely wandering along together, holding each other by the little finger, brilliant blossoms dangling in the hands that are disengaged: indeed all that matchless air of infinite wandering indolence that remind one of the cadences of Mr. Yeats's *Wanderings of Oisin* more than anything else." Even Mr. Yeats himself in his later years speaks (significantly in view of what has been said concerning the influence of the romantic movement) of "all that overcharged colour inherited from the romantic movement."[1] So when Mr. Boyd, the responsible critic of the Celtic Revival, tells us that in *The Wanderings of Oisin* "Yeats succeeded in creating something which was as truly in harmony with the Celtic spirit as it was expressive of

[1] W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies*. p. 91.

himself and the generation he announced,"[1] are we not justified in asking: what does Mr. Boyd mean by the word "Celtic" and whence has he drawn his concept of what is characteristically Celtic? It is significant however that while this poem is completely out of harmony with the spirit of Irish literature, it reflects quite definitely the spirit of Gray and Macpherson; and how richly might not the pages of Renan and Arnold be illustrated with quotations from it? The theme of the poem and the names in it are Irish; the shadowy otherworld, where the ideal of happiness is found in a shifting, cloudy world of indolent dreaminess, is in no sense Irish. The message which it brings is that of the "Mahatmas" rather than that of the Fiana. And if its oriental or pseudo-oriental basis be denied, we must admit that Mr. Yeats's "dream-world" is nothing more than "private, personal and literary" and that, as far as things Irish are concerned, it has no "external validation."

Lack of space precludes me from treating of other marked antitheses between the spirit and character of Mr. Yeats's poetry and the spirit of Irish literature. Their respective attitude to nature is one example. Irish nature poetry is always unsophisticated and objective. English and Anglo-Irish literary critics write constantly of nature being "presented, in the true Celtic spirit, as haunted by mysterious presences."[2] Mr. O'Sullivan, who cannot pray because he has heard the voice of Lord Angus in the trees, is, according to Mr. Boyd, "thoroughly Celtic in his perception of the mystic voices and the spiritual suggestion of nature."[3] This kind of statement would be more convincing if even a single supporting example from Irish literature were adduced. Certainly it is significant that the nature-

[1] *Ireland's Literary Renaissance.* p. 129.
[2] H. S. Krans, *op. cit.* p. 62.
[3] *Ireland's Literary Renaissance.* p. 259.

poems in Meyer's *Selections from Ancient Irish Poetry*, those in *Measgra Dánta*, in *Acallamh na Senórach*, in Meyer's *Bruchstücke* and even those in *Buile Suibhne* know nothing about those "mysterious presences" and "mystic voices." The Irish poet, inspired by a simple joy in the beauty of nature, had no desire but to describe objectively what he saw. There was in the background of his life no symbolic personality, no Megarithma, who governed his relations to woods and waters according to his cabbalistic symbols. But "Mr. Yeats's view of nature is in the highest degree mystical and subjective . . . . nature is always subservient to his own mood, is there to reflect some state of mind or soul."[1] The contrast in spirit between the love-poetry of Mr. Yeats and that of Irish literature, which for want of space I cannot treat more fully, will be obvious to anyone who will read *The Wind among the Reeds* side by side with O'Rahilly's *Dánta Grádha* and Hyde's *Abhráin Grádh Chúige Connacht.*

It has been shown that the poetry of Mr. Yeats does not find an "external validation" in the Irish character nor in Irish literature. Renan[2] and others would have us believe that Celtic dreaminess and melancholy are the results of the climatic and geographical surroundings in which the Celtic peoples dwell. Mr. Forrest Reid, evidently conscious of the lack of sympathy between Mr. Yeats and the people, writes: "It is the earth and the sky that live in his poetry, not the people." He tells us that Mr. Yeats's poetry "is intimately true to the spirit not so much of the people, as of the very country itself—its atmosphere, its earth and its stones, its waters and woods and clouds. It is an ideal Ireland perhaps, and one may say that the ordinary natives of any country *are* the country; but this land is somehow haunted, and it is this mysterious, haunting presence which for the first time

[1] Forrest Reid, *op. cit.* pp. 80 and 248.
[2] Ernest Renan, *The Poetry of the Celtic Races.* p. 1.

finds a voice in Mr. Yeats's poetry."[1] Note carefully the words " for the first time . . . . in Mr. Yeats's poetry." Are not our sympathies immediately aroused for those long generations of heavy-eyed and insensible natives who (to judge at least from their literature) dwelt so long in this beauty-haunted land and never saw the ghost? In the Irish *Fianaigecht* poetry the land, every hill and stream of it, lives and speaks to us. That the spirit of the Irish countryside is expressed for the first time in Mr. Yeats's poetry is, to one who knows Irish literature, an absurd statement. As Spenser used in the *Faerie Queen* a background of Irish scenery for his allegorical figures, so Mr. Yeats uses an Irish background for his " immortal, mild, proud shadows." There is this difference, however, that in Mr. Yeats's work even the background is shadowy, and the characters appear only at the magic hour of twilight.

The argument of my paper is well illustrated by the following anecdote about Mr. Yeats, which I take from Mr. Reid's book.[2] " There is something curiously characteristic in a story Æ told me of him. Some years ago Æ was teaching him to do pastels, and coming out one day he found the poet at work on a woodland sketch which he was doing from nature. It was in the full strength and heat of a July noon, and Mr. Yeats, while copying what lay before him, was turning it into a moonlight scene." The real beauty of the woodland scene and the noon-day sun is forgotten, and there is substituted for it the unconvincing fancy of the poet-painter's twilight mind. The story is applicable to the poetry of the Celtic Twilight generally.

FRANCIS SHAW

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[1] Forrest Reid, *op. cit.* pp. 43 and 246.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 248.

IRISH COLONISTS IN COLONIAL MARYLAND

BY RICHARD J. PURCELL, PH.D.
Professor of History in the Catholic University of America

LORD Baltimore's Palatinate of Maryland, with its first settlement three hundred years ago, should have attracted an influx of Irish immigrants because of the Irish associations of the Calverts as English planters in County Longford and because of the religious toleration for Christians which prevailed in the colony until the Revolution of 1689, save for a few years during a brief Puritan supremacy. However, comparatively few Irishmen came to Maryland in the early period because of vague hopes of a happier future in Ireland under the Stuarts and because English manorial lords in Maryland seemed to prefer English labourers and indentured servants to Irish servants, despite the Protestantism or the Puritanism of the former. Apparently nationalism was a more important factor than creed with English Catholics in Maryland, who realized after all that they were ever on the defensive. Stray references to Irish settlers have been found, but nothing to substantiate suggestions of a heavy immigration as noted by an occasional generous writer.

Among early Irish colonists of some standing, there was a Bryan Kelly in St. Mary's County, a Cornelius O'Sullivant, a Joan O'Carroll, who married Joshua Howard in 1667, and a Captain Edward and Grace (O'Neil) Waters. Philip Conner, a commissioner of Kent County in 1647, discreetly represented that County in the House of Burgesses and finally became its commander despite a suspicion of his adherence to the Catholic faith, which his family did not profess. There was Bryan O'Mella, a large land-holder, who probably engaged in colonization. Apparently there were some arrivals from Cork, and in a list of one thousand patentees of lands in

the Stuart era there are some suggestive names aside from those otherwise mentioned: Thomas Courtney, William Kirby, and the Jordans in St. Mary's County; John Larkin, James Murphy, Sarah Connor and John Tully in Kent County; Richard Keen and William Burk in Calvert County; James Moore, Thomas Larkin and Hugh Ryly in Prince George's County; John Roach, Daniel Donahoe, and John Emmet in Somerset County; John Larkin and John Shaw in Anne Arundel County; Nathaniel Shields and Luke Ravan in Baltimore County; Anthony Griffin, Patrick Mullican and Thomas Lacy in Talbot County; and Thomas Jordan and John Garry in Dorchester County.[1] These were generally holders of farms or manors, and seem to have preceded the North of Ireland colonizers.

There was an indication of some direct immigration from Ireland in the reference to the *Encrease* from Youghall with servants and provisions for St. Mary's, which was held up by Virginia authorities on some technicality against which the Council of Maryland protested (1688).[2] As early as 1676, Maryland passed an act requiring shipmasters to declare if they had any convicts aboard and levying a fine of two thousand pounds of tobacco on anyone who imported convicts, who were usually petty malefactors or political malcontents.[3] Obviously there were some Irish refugees *via* the West Indies; for, in 1690, Captain Coode warned Leisler of New York that two suspicious "Papists," Henly and Walsh, from Martinique had escaped to Pennsylvania.[4]

Colonel George Talbot, a member of the Anglo-Irish family of Castle Rooney in Roscommon and a counsin of Lord Baltimore, patented 32,000 acres along the Susquehanna River, calling his tract New Ireland. In Cecil County he had manors with such names as Kildare, Ormonde, and Balle Connell. Within the next few years he settled sixty persons from Ireland on his land and no

[1] All the notes will be found at the end of the article.

doubt would have fulfilled his contract to bring five hundred and eighty persons of British or Irish descent, had he not become involved in temporary difficulties by killing an officer of the royal navy in defence of Baltimore's authority. This " warm hearted, courageous, and impetuous " Irishman soon left the colony to follow the unhappy fortunes of the Stuarts and to take a commission in the Irish Brigade in the French service, in which he was killed.[5]

About this time John Boyd was establishing a noteworthy family in Prince George's County, while Bryan O'Daly, Daniel Sullivan, Charles Quigley and the Ulsterite Alexanders were colonizing in Cecil County. Edmund O'Dwyer, a gentleman from County Tipperary, in association with fifteen Irish partners took out a patent for six thousand acres, which became known as New Munster (1683).[6] In Charles County, Patrick McAtee founded a home and a family outstanding in the military affairs of the colony-state, while Thomas Mitchell, Mathias Bryan, and James Mackey, were early land holders.[7] In 1682, Edmund Randolph in a letter to the commissioner of customs declared that the Eastern Shore was pestered with Scots and Irish with some three hundred engaged in manufacturing linens, farming and smuggling.[8]

No more distinguished fortune-seeker came to Maryland than Charles Carroll (1660-1720), a scion of the ancient O'Carrolls of Ely, a graduate of the College of Douai, a student at Inner Temple, and secretary to William Herbert, Lord Powis, a minister of James II, through whom he procured Lord Baltimore's favour and who advised that he seek his fortune in America. As Lord Baltimore's attorney-general he arrived in Maryland (Oct. 1, 1688). Within a year the third Lord Baltimore lost control of the palatinate, which became a royal province under the governorship of Sir Lionel Copley. Thereupon, with the rigid enforcement of the penal laws Carroll lost his official position and was temporarily

imprisoned for reputed discourses against the government. A stout supporter of his patron and a secret Jacobite, he retained the goodwill of the fourth Lord Baltimore, who regained his palatinate and conveniently changed his religious beliefs to conform with the Anglican Establishment. As personal agent of the non-resident proprietors, as register of the land office in succession to his wealthy father-in-law, and as naval officer, Charles Carroll accumulated a mansion in Annapolis, some sixty thousand acres of selected land well stocked with slaves, an heiress, Mary Darnall, as his wife, and eleven children, most of whom died in their early years. His sons studied in the College of St. Omers in Flanders and read law at the Inns of Court: one being known as Charles Carroll of Annapolis (1702-82), father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, patriot and signer of the Declaration of Independence; the other as Daniel Carroll of Duddington, part of whose estate became the site of the national capitol.[9]

There were numerous Carrolls of the same general family, but often related more closely through the female side. Charles Carroll (1691-1755) of Mount Clare, chyrurgeon, came about 1718 and through his marriage with Dorothy Blake was the father of Charles Carroll, Barrister, (d. 1783) an Anglican, a graduate of Cambridge University and of the Middle Temple, a patriot in the Revolution, a member of the Maryland Convention, and a delegate to the Continental Congress. The Carrolls of Marlborough included John Carroll, first bishop of the Catholic Church in the United States, and Daniel Carroll, a framer of the Federal Constitution and an original commissioner for governing and laying out the District of Columbia. Then there were the Carrolls of St. Mary's County, who were less famous but hardly less respectable in lands, negroes, and local honours. The inter-related Carrolls of Anne Arundel and Cecil Counties were of the family of James Carroll (d. 1728), an emigrant from County Tipperary, who patented over two thousand acres in 1701.[40] A remark-

able family, its early members generally retained the Catholic faith but lost their Irish affiliations through intermarriage with local planter-families of English lineage.

Ulsterite immigrants were becoming numerous enough to establish several informal congregations in Maryland, for which they petitioned the Laggan Presbytery for a minister. As a result Francis Makemie (1658-1708), son of Scottish settlers in County Donegal and a graduate of the University of Glasgow, came to the Eastern Shore (1683) and established his first congregations and churches at Rehoboth, Snow Hill, Princess Anne and Salisbury, and at Makemie Park in Virginia, where his grave is marked by a suitable memorial. This was a region where it was officially reported (1697) that there was no priest or chapel or Quaker, but three Presbyterian meeting houses. As the moderator of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, author of a catechism and an active missioner, even going to the Barbados and to Boston, he deserved to be rated as the founder of the organized Presbyterian Church in America, gathering congregations and sending to Ireland for their ministers. Irish ministers like William Traill, Alexander Hutchinson, Thomas Wilson, and Hugh Conn were soon followed by their people. Irish Presbyterians continued to arrive, if one may judge from the establishment of congregations and churches as that under James Houston near Fair Hill.[11] Most of the Presbyterian ministers were Irish-born during the whole colonial era. Probably the leading educator among them was Samuel Finley, who founded the Nottingham Academy in Cecil County and who was later (1761) called to the presidency of Princeton College, the heart of American Presbyterianism.[12]

In 1689 there came from Ireland Thomas Johnson, whose son Thomas became governor, chief justice of the general court, and justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.[13] Despite various obstacles some Irish

Catholics filtered into the province. In 1698 Governor Nicholson was informed that six hundred recently arrived indentured-servants were for the most part Irish and "Papists."[14] Governor John Hart, a nephew of John Vesey archbishop of Tuam and a native of County Cavan, learned in answer to enquiries from a score of ministers that there was a dangerous increase in "Papists" who were gaining ground on account of the ingenuity of the Jesuits as contrasted with the illiteracy of many established ministers. It was during this period that Jacob Henderson came from Ireland. As a learned Anglican divine he was advanced by the Bishop of London to be commissary of the whole province (1729) to the decided moral uplift of the established denomination.[15] Yet in an estimated population of forty thousand in 1708, Maryland had less than three thousand Catholics, of whom the majority would be of English stock.[16] There were Catholic losses probably greater than has usually been suspected; and it was not Catholic numbers that attracted attention and aroused fear so much as the superior position and attainments of the landed and wealthy aristocracy who adhered to the old faith. A minister, Jonathan White, complained that his son had been permitted to marry an Irish servant. Irish servants were most likely Protestants of the lower order or Presbyterians like the run-away whom his owner, James Carroll, described as a youth of eighteen years, "a Scotch-Irish, thieving, lying, saucy, fellow." Incidentally, this is an early use of the term "Scotch-Irish."[17] The Celtic-Irish were emigrating to the European Continent rather than shipping voluntarily in any number to the American plantations.

In 1717 the old tax of twenty shillings per head on negroes and Catholic Irishmen imported as slaves and servants (1699) was increased by the Provincial Assembly to forty shillings for the avowed support of free public schools. To detect their religious persuasion naval

officers were ordered to administer the oaths to Irish servants.[18] A tax of two pounds per head, no doubt, lessened the interest of planters in purchasing Irish servants, especially as this impost was retained during the whole colonial era. About this time shiploads of Scottish prisoners taken after the uprising for the Old Pretender were transported to the colony. The Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, in reporting to the King that the population of Maryland, computed at fifty-five thousand colonists and twenty-five thousand blacks (1719), had doubled in fifteen years, noted the "arrival of several convict persons and of many poor families who have transported themselves from Ireland." A number of Ulsterites, as the Mahaffeys, were settled near Elkton. In Somerset County, Robert Polk founded an important American family.[19]

Catholics were of course entirely disfranchised after the Revolution of 1689, regardless of the large manorial holdings of some of their leaders. In 1716 William FitzRedmond, a nephew of Charles Carroll, and Edward Coyle were fined for drinking the Pretender's health. Counsellor Thomas McNamara's independence of spirit caused him to be disbarred from practice, but he was restored by Lord Baltimore on advice of his English lawyers. Later this wealthy planter became mayor of Annapolis for three terms.[20] And as a result of the bitter conflict between Anglicans and Catholics, John Hart was transferred to the governorship of the Leeward Isles (1720), although he served Maryland well despite his unpopularity, especially in his efforts for public education. In 1737 there was noted the arrival of sixty-six servants whose indentures were signed by the mayor of Dublin.[21]

Daniel Delaney or Dulany (1685-1753) was now coming into prominence as a leader of the bar.[22] A native of Queen's County, a cousin of Doctor Patrick Delaney, friend and collaborator of Dean Swift, young Dulany fled from Trinity College, Dublin, after some escapade

and came with his brothers, William and Joseph, to Maryland probably as an indentured servant. A tutor in Carter's manorial household in Calvert County, he studied law under Colonel George Plater, former Attorney General, and was admitted to the bar (1710), becoming a barrister of Gray's Inn. Partly on account of his friendliness to " Papists " and his inter-marriage with Governor Hart's enemies, he won the hostility of the governor. To smooth over matters, the new governor, Charles Calvert, made him Attorney-General of the province. His son was the famous Daniel Dulany (1722-97) who, with other members of his well-connected family and the Taskers and Bladens, formed the ruling loyalist clique of the province on the eve of the Revolution.

John Read, a Dublin man, was a founder of Charlestown.[23] In 1743 John Poe and Jane McBride, his wife, left Antrim for Newcastle, Delaware, from whence they migrated to Cecil County, Maryland, where they established a family of whom Edgar Allen Poe was the distinguished member.[24] In 1740 James Sterling (1701-55), a native of King's County, a graduate of Trinity College, a playwright, and an author of a volume of poetical works published in Dublin (1734), settled in Kent County as a preacher and a teacher. In 1748 John Jackson came to Cecil County from Derry, removing later to the western counties of Virginia. He and his son fought in the Revolution, and his famous descendant was General Stonewall Jackson, the hero of the Confederacy. In 1750 died a merchant John Conner of Chesterton.[25]

Robert Strawbridge, a native of County Leitrim, came about 1760 to organize Methodist churches in Maryland, and according to his supporters established a congregation at Sam's Creek, Frederick County, which preceded the Methodist congregation founded by Embury, an Irish Palatinate, in New York. An enthusiast whose generosity often left his family in need of food, he had remarkable success in establishing missions especially

among the Germans settled on the Eastern Shore, in Baltimore, and in Pennsylvania, and in training a corps of preachers, including John Hagerty, later one of the ablest Methodist exhorters in Ohio. The first Methodist Church in Baltimore included several Irishmen, of whom Patrick Colvin and Patrick Bennett were outstanding members. The first Baptist preacher in Baltimore was John Healey. Such was the Irish contribution to sectarianism in Maryland.[26]

That Maryland could hardly be termed a Catholic colony was indicated when Daniel Dulany wrote in 1752 : " The number of Papists in this province is very inconsiderable in comparison with the Protestants, and they are not tolerated at all, as I have often heard, in any other British Province except Pennsylvania." Three years later, Governor Horatio Sharpe testified : " The Papists behave themselves peacefully and as good subjects. They are, I imagine, about one-twelfth of the population and many of them are men of pretty considerable fortune." In 1752 Maryland, with a white population of about 107,000, had 1981 known convicts and 6,870 indentured servants as compared to about 50,000 negroes.[27] For labour, slaves were preferred to servants ; but for skilled trades, gardeners, book-keepers, and tutors, indentured servants were in steady demand.

Teachers and private tutors were frequently indentured servants and transports ; for the general lack of interest in schooling, save for children of wealthy families, and the penurious stipends paid teachers meant that free men of initiative would not continue as schoolmasters, but would turn to an honourable profession or the land for their livelihood. There was official and ecclesiastical criticism of indentured teachers, especially as they were Irish foreigners and in some instances suspected of being " Papists." Few of their names are known, yet an occasional master like William Killeen, a refugee from County Clare (1737), rose from his indentureship to the

chief judicial position in the State of Delaware. Test acts were rigidly enforced, especially during the periods of war with the French, so that only a rare Catholic continued to teach unless as a guarded tutor in a Catholic or Quaker family. Of Irish educators who were neither servants nor Catholics, there were some noted figures: Dr. Francis Allison, a native of County Donegal and a graduate of the University of Glasgow, who taught in Talbot County (1735) and who later was a professor of the classics in the Academy of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania); and Thomas Cradock, a brother of the Archbishop of Dublin, who had his own school in Baltimore County.

Quite naturally among the earliest settlers in Baltimore,[28] which was platted on lands sold by Charles and Daniel Carroll for two pounds sterling per acre (1729), there were Irish employees on the Carroll estates, as Charles Fleming, a caretaker. The city developed rapidly and boasted of the Baltimore Club, as early as 1746, with such members as T. Sheredine, William Lyon, and William Rogers, and of the ballroom of Fiesoli, probably the first Italian citizen. Baltimore as a popular port for immigrants soon had a considerable Irish, or rather Ulsterite colony, some of whose members came *via* Pennsylvania. Edward Fotterell, a sportsman and a generous contributor to local enterprises, amassed money and retired to his native Ireland, leaving a large brick house where the " neutrals " or Acadians and a few Irish settlers heard Mass (1756) for a number of years until the foundation of St. Peter's Chapel. The arrival of a brig from Dublin with passengers and servants no doubt increased the size of the little congregation(1768).[29] In neighbouring Harford County, Thomas Shea of Priests' Ford deeded a farm to Bennet Neale, S.J., for religious purposes. In this country, there was an Ulsterite family of McComas which made its contribution to later American life.[30]

In six years preceding the Seven Years' War, Maryland

received 2,800 immigrants from Germany and 5,000 from the British Isles. At this time a few Irish and English Catholics were settled upon Carrollton Manor. During the war few servants were imported, men of that type being "conscripted" or impressed into the British military or naval service. As servants were frequently given their freedom for joining the militia, the roster of Maryland troops in the French and Indian War included a number of men with Celtic names, rather more than their ratio of the population would indicate. Among them, there were no doubt some of the recently sold Scottish prisoners.[31]

After the war some of the English soldiers remained in the colony, including John Whistler (d. 1827), an impressed Irishman, who married an English lady, won a commission in the American regular army, and left some able descendants, of whom the most famous was Whistler, the painter.[32] Immigration increased, and ships were crowded if one may judge from the admonitions of Charles Carroll to his son, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who was about to return from London after a dozen years of foreign study and travel, to inquire into the sailing reputation of the boat and avoid one carrying a large cabin list or many fellows and servants. At the time a kinsman, Henry Carroll, was captain of the *Two Sisters*, which plied back and forth from Annapolis to London with cargoes of goods and servants,[33] no doubt English people, although London already had Scottish and Irish inhabitants whom one authority estimated at a sixth of the population. Between 1750 and 1770, it is estimated that 20,000 British convicts were sent to Maryland.[34]

Not every Marylander encouraged his correspondents in the British Isles to come to Maryland. Father Joseph Mosley, S.J., a Lincolnshire man, who served on the Maryland missions from 1758 until his death in 1787, described the hardships of redemptioners; they were publicly sold to any purchaser, set to labour in the fields,

fed on Indian corn, and treated cruelly by masters accustomed to driving negroes. As lands were taken up, prices were rising, so that there was little opportunity for a poor man. He would deter Catholics from coming (1772), and some years later he advised his brother not to emigrate, as lands were selling high and as many of the English stories about America were Canterbury Tales.[35]

In a list of six thousand emigrants from England in 1773-74, there were some identified Irishmen who were indentured for sale in Maryland; John Dogharty, a surgeon; William Griffin, Thomas McCarthy, and Patrick Farrell, schoolmasters; and the following classified list of artisans: two grooms, a servant, a farmer, five husbandmen, a gardener, a sawyer, a currier, a plasterer, a cordwainer, a founder, five clerks or book-keepers, two labourers, a bricklayer, a painter, a tailor, a cook, and a locksmith.[36] An Irish paper announced the safe arrival at Georgetown in Maryland of a ship from Newry with passengers of whom only one died en route.[37] On April 1, 1773, the *Two Brothers* advertised that it would soon sail "for the famous and flourishing town of Baltimore" with passengers and servants.[38] A month later, Cork dispatched the *Venus* for Maryland and Virginia with a cargo and considerable number of redemptioners "obliged to quit their native country, not on account of their crimes, but the present general stress among the middling and lower class of people."[39] The *Sophia* from Dublin advertised twenty stout men for sale. Owen McCarty, a former soldier, was posted as a run-away servant for whom ten pounds would be paid by his owner Barnard Reilly or the latter's agent, Alexander Cowan.[40] In 1775 the *Maryland Planter* from London brought ninety-three persons to Maryland, among whom three were marked Irish-born although a dozen others had Irish names, while the *Hopewell* and *Adventurer* from London had two known Irish indentured servants. From Hull a ship brought two Irish indentured girls; three Irishmen

were shipped from Bristol; four or five on the *Nelly* and six on the *Calvert* from London.[41]

That the Carrolls were interested in colonizing activities and land sales would appear from a letter of Daniel Carroll to Washington (Sept. 1, 1773) in which he wrote of a communication from a merchant-friend in Galway, relative to some laborious people on the latter's estates who plan to settle in the West over the Monongahela. He noted that he urged Washington's lands, probably on the Great Kanawka, and he suggested to Washington that setting aside glebe lands for a priest would help bring settlers. As for himself, he planned to buy lands and make settlements, as he is acquainted with those who might come and who have some substance. And it might be added that the Carrolls, like other patriotic families, profited to some extent by the purchase on easy terms of confiscated loyalist estates. While the exodus of Irish emigrants was chiefly from Ulster to Philadelphia and the Carolinas, there was, strangely enough, an emigration fever in Galway at this time which Arthur Young noted: "There were many emigrants from Galway to America, but only of the loose idle people."[42]

Irish arrivals in the decade before the American Revolution included some men whose fame was unbounded by provincial lines. Rev. Anthony Carroll, an Irish kinsman of the Maryland Carrolls, came to Baltimore as a Jesuit priest (1773), but after two years returned to England, where he served missions in Liverpool, Shifton and Exeter, and translated a work in four volumes on *Practical Divinity* (1776).[43]

William Patterson left County Donegal for Philadelphia (1766), later removing to Baltimore. As a shipper, one of whose vessels brought munitions from France in 1776, a merchant, a munitions broker, and a manufacturer, he acquired a fortune. His daughter, Elizabeth, was internationally famous as the forsaken wife of Jerome Bonaparte and his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Caton Patterson,

a grand-daughter of Charles Carroll, as the Catholic spouse of the Marquis of Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.[44] Barnabus Hughes, a recent arrival in Washington County from Ireland, established the Mount Aetna Iron Furnace which furnished munitions for the patriot forces. Samuel and Robert Purviance, stout Presbyterians from Donegal (1769), were leading merchants in Baltimore, rearing families of considerable importance.[45] Daniel McHenry and his sons, John and James McHenry, arrived from Ulster (1771-72), but soon left Philadelphia for Baltimore, where they established a lucrative importing and merchandizing business. As a surgeon in the Revolution, a secretary to Washington, an aide of Lafayette, a member of the Maryland senate, a member of Congress (1783-86), a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, a stout Federalist, Secretary of War from 1796 until his expulsion by President Adams (1800), an opponent of the War of 1812, a writer of political brochures, a founder of the local Bible Society, a Presbyterian leader, and a retired sage on his estate at Fayetteville with his Ulsterite wife, Margaret Allison Caldwell, James McHenry became Baltimore's leading citizen. Indeed his lengthy defence addressed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives was published by John W. Butler, an Irish printer and publisher of Baltimore (1803).[46]

Among Maryland's physicians and surgeons in the Revolutionary period there were several Irishmen:[47] Dr. Finley; Thomas Bourke on the Eastern Shore, Brehon of St. Mary's County; John Dorsey, surgeon on the *Defense;* John O'Dell Hart, who was certified as not seditious by Charles Carroll; James Sullivan (1737-1803) of Dorchester County; Samuel Keene; Benjamin Kennedy; Patrick Kennedy, who joined the British forces in 1777; and Robert Lemmon. Of greater fame than these was John Coulter (1751-1823), who came from Ireland in 1773, served during the Revolution as a surgeon on Maryland vessels and in military hospitals

in Baltimore, and assisted in framing the state constitution. Upton Scott (1722-1814), a native of Ireland, served under Wolfe and became secretary to Governor Eden, with whom as a loyalist he departed the colony. Later (1780) he returned under a passport from Benjamin Franklin and won local standing as a physician and first president of the Medico-Chirurgical Faculty of the state. Henry Stevenson (1721-1814) came to Baltimore (1750), apparently with a brother who was an architect, practised his profession and at the same time founded a hospital for smallpox innoculation. A loyalist, he took service with the British army, but returned to Baltimore in 1786, where he was famed as "the most successful smallpox innoculator in America."[48] A somewhat later arrival (1797) was John Crawford (1746-1813), the son of an Ulsterite clergyman, a product of the Universities of Dublin and Leyden, and a surgeon in the British service, who practised medicine in Baltimore, wrote monographs on medical subjects, and took a lead in Masonic and civic affairs.[49]

Irish Catholics were never more than a small fraction of Maryland's colonial population, even after 1717 or after 1773 when there was a considerable Ulsterite immigration. Yet the Irish settlers, whether they came as passengers or servants or felons convicted of some slight offence for which men were then transported, contributed their share in the development of the colony. As manorial lords, farmers, merchants, physicians, ministers, teachers, servants, artisans, and soldiers, immigrants from Ireland found their places in the building of the commonwealth.

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[2] *Archives of Maryland* (Md.) (1890) 55.

[3] *Archives of Md.*, 2 (1884) 540.

[4] E. B. O'Callaghan (ed.) *Documentary History of New York*, II (1849), 226, 244.

[5] Richardson, *op. cit.*, II, 207; Paul Wilstach, *Tidewater Maryland* (1931) 181 f.; Johnston, *History of Cecil County* (1881) 109 f.; *J.A.I.*, 26 (1927) 30 f.; *American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* (*Records*) 24 (1913) 101.

[6] Richardson, *op. cit.*, II, 267; C. A. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish*, II (1902) 60; Johnston, *op. cit.*, 133 f.

[7] Richardson, *op. cit.*, II, 386 f.; *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 23 (1928) 344 f.

[8] Charles K. Bolton, *Scotch-Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America*, (1910) 21 f.

[9] R. J. Purcell, "Centenary of Charles Carroll of Carrollton," *Studies*, Dec. 1932.

[10] Johnston, *op. cit.*, 137.

[11] L. P. Bowen, *The Days of Makemie* (1885); Bolton, *op. cit.*, 21 f.

[12] Johnston, *op. cit.*, 275 f.

[13] *J.A.I.*, 9 (1910) 198.

[14] H. S. Spalding, S.J., *Catholic Colonial Maryland* (1931) 147 f.

[15] *Catholic Hist. Researches* (Phila.) 3 (1886) 79 f.; Neill, *Terra Mariae* (1867) 203.

[16] C. C. Hall, *Baltimore: Its History and Its People*, I (1912) 695.

[17] *Researches*, 3 (1886) 79 f.; *American Weekly Mercury* (Phila.) Nov. 17, 1720.

[18] *Archives*, 22 (1902) 497, 24 (1904) 41; *Researches*, 3: 79 f.

[19] Richardson, *op. cit.*, I, 204 f., 210 f., II, 225; O'Callaghan (ed.), *Documents Relative to History of New York* 5 (1855) 605; Neill, *op. cit.*, 193; *J.A.I.*, 26: 42 f.

[20] *J.A.I.*, 14 (1915) 215 f.

[21] Neill, *op. cit.*, 203.

[22] St. G. L. Sioussat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland* (1720-1750) *and the Public Services of Daniel Dulany the Elder* (1903) 47 f.; *D.A.B.* 5 (1930) 498 f.

[23] *J.A.I.*, 5 (1905) 99.

[24] R. H. Spencer (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Maryland*, I (1919) 193 f.

[25] For all reference to teachers, see R. J. Purcell, "Education and Irish Teachers in Colonial Maryland," *Catholic Education Review*, March, 1934; Davis, *op. cit.*, 223.

[26] Crimmins, *op. cit.*, 58; *J.A.I.*, 7 (1907) 73; L. F. Bittenger, *German Religious Life in Colonial Times*, (1906) 100 f.

[27] *Researches*, 3: 41; Hall, *Baltimore*, I, 695 f.; Neill, *op. cit.*, 211 f.

[28] M. J. Riordan, *Cathedral Records* (1906) 6; *Researches*, 3: 93; Hall, *Baltimore*, I, 648 f.; A. L. Sioussat, *Old Baltimore* (1931) 43, 49.

[29] *Providence* (*R. I.*) *Gazette*, Aug. 27, 1768.

[30] W. W. Preston, *History of Harford County* (1901) 161 f.; *D.A.B.*, 11 (1933) 598.

[31] *Archives*, 31 (1911) 143 f.; W. J. Grove, *History of Carrollton Manor* (1928) 131; *Md. Hist. Mag.*, 5 (1910) 271-289.

[32] *Md. Hist. Mag.* 2 (1907) 350.

[33] *K. M. Rowland*, Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, I (1898) 57.

[34] R. L. Garis, *Immigration Restriction* (1927) 12.

[35] *Records*, 17: 206 f. from Shea Collection in Georgetown College.

[36] *New England Historical and Geneological Register*, Vols. 62 (1908) to 65.

[37] *Public Journal* (Ireland), Dec. 11, 1772.

[38] *Hibernian Chronicle* (Cork) Apr. 1, 1773.

[39] *Public Journal*, June 2, 1773.

[40] Grove, *Carrollton Manor*, 180; *Maryland Journal*, Aug. 20, 1773.

[41] *N. E. Gen. Reg.*, 65: 20 f.

[42] A. W. Hutton (ed.), *Arthur Young; Tour in Ireland*, (1892) 276;

[43] *Researches*, 19 (1902) 39.

[44] *D.A.B.*, 2 (1929) 248; Sioussat, *Baltimore*, 154 f., 201 f.

[45] T. J. Williams, *History of Washington County* (1916) 59; Sioussat, *op. cit.*, 68.

[46] R. J. Purcell, biography in *D.A.B.* 12 (1933) 62.

[47] *Md. Hist. Mag.*, 24 (1929) 1f.

[48] *Sioussat, op. cit.*, 51.

[49] *D.A.B.* 4 (1930) 521.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA S.J.

XXX

ROOFING OUR HOUSE

Seoffraid Ó Cléirigh ecc.

1. Fada go dtuigim mo theach
ní fada go gcluinim cloch
mian tuirid gid bé ar a mbeath
ní hé a theach bunaid an bioth.

2. Suairc leam a mhná agus a mhoid
gearr a chuairt ca lá nach leag
[an] fód chaiimre ar clé dhamh
ní hé an mag tadhaillre ar dteag.

3. Teach ar n-athar dúinn ir dual
fcathadh [a fúig do bádh] fámh
teaghdair nar lean dath na diadh
ní threabh chiadh ná clach ná cláir.

4. Ir mé an t-éan [agus] é ar fhuth
ocus [mé re] béal na mbreath
ir ceardcha [ar] tí bhuithne an bioth
dá dtí an cloch ní tuigthe ar dteach.

5. Mo theagh nocht gan ní ór mo chionn
ir gort geal nach bí fá bharr
nocht leagair gach neach a-nonn
eagall mádh toll an teach thall.

6. Bearth do bhuain fúm ir dú dhamh
iram cú gan chúl re chrudh
maith ar bhráidh neamhdaine i neamh
fan teagh fearnbaile ir dáigh dul.

7. Oíc [do-ġaiḃ] a ḟoṁáil uam
do [ġaiṁ] an domhnáin ġan díon
[ṗian] oile aġ ionnlaċ mo ċaom
ḟaoṫ mo ċoiġe ir díomḋaċ díom.

8. Deaġ a ḟeiḋm do ḋeaġḋaiṫ Dé
deilḃ dá ċeaġḋaiṫ nó a trí
aimṫa aṫ neaṁ agur neaċ ḟaoi
díaoi taṫ an teaċ ir eaḋ í.

9. Tuigeam ṁaṁainn go ṁia a-ṁíṫ
[Dia i gcolainn ní ċuiṁeann] ḟḃéiṫ
comla gion go mbí ṁem baoiṫ
maoiṫ ir í dá [hoṁḋa] aṫ m'éiṫ.

10. Náṫ aṫ gcoilla ir doiliġ ḋúinn
ṁoilla mo ċloiḋiṁ do-ċím
maṫ tá aṫ n-anam ać do ṗéin
a ċalann ṗéin gá ḃṫaċ bíḋ.

11. Do ċóiḋ Dia i gcṫoiċ taṫ mo ċeann
gan m'óiḋ n-a ċṫoiċ do ṁia ṁiom
giḋ ṫlán mo ḃoṫ ir mo ḃonn
toll a láṁ 'r a ċoṫ dom ċionn.

12. Tṫuaġ [aṫ a] ṁoiḃ tinṁe a ċaoiḃ
daṫ gcinnne idiṫ ḟoil ir ḟeoil
Mac Dé dá ċṫoċaḋ do ċuaiḋ
ní ḟuaiṫ ré ać do ḋoċaṫ dá ḋeoin.

13. Giḋ meaḋ n-uċṫaiṫ uam dá ċneiḋ
luaġ a uċṫaiṫ noċa ḟuil
maiṫġ naċ biaṫ boċta ṫa tiġ
ir aṫ ṫil cliaṫ oċta d'ḟuil.

14. A ḋuine no-d-ġabaḋ gṫáin
ṫe nduine aṫ ṫcaṫaḋ ṫé ṫcéiṁ
bíḋ bán coṫṫ uile go huaiġ
oíc an tṫuaill i ḃṫoile ṗéin.

15. A anam dán adair Dia
nad dadaig calann dá crú
dlige uairle ón tuil i mbia
Dia do cuir n-a truaillre tú.

16. Soiteach deit ó Dia na ndúl
[noca] bia acd gá creic ad-ciam
cionntach an corp riot fa fíor
oic do díol [ar an gciop] chiad.

17. A fíogan [glan] tug Dia dam
ar Dia ná fadb druid re cion
lán do tacar ir d'feirg t'fear
eirg go teag t'atar ót fíor.

18. Tug fagain do các ad-ciu
nad tabair ar brát i mbia
fíteag geal Coimde gan ceo
ir teag n-a reo doirce ag Dia.

19. Fada uam [fíteag] mo fíog
gid go buan [bítear] 'n-a dún
dar ndrud ón céilide claon
tug ar faor dréimire dún.

20. Daot fear ar gcéileine [an corp]
gan dréimire ar neam a-noct
doilig léimeanna crann [gceart]
feacht gcéimeanna ann nó [a] hoct.

21. A naon díb an uma [foir]
gur an fíg fa cubra cnir
taca an [aird] a-nonn a-noir
mairg coir ir an bonn fá mbrir.

22. A dó díb goireide a greim
[an foidide] nacar fill
mairg téid a tacaib an croinn
doill ir bacaig do-éid inn.

T

23. A trí an fírinne go n-aoib
Gurab hí ar bhfírinne féin
A-tá an t-uball fallsa fóinn
Cóir damhsa dulann le a dhéim.

24. Faoistoe an ceathramhad cuing
Go n-a bhfeachtloghad ir binn
Céim eile ar a ngeabham ghleim
[Go mbeamam] leinn eirghe [inn].

25. Seachbaid oilbéime gach aoin
Ar [doidhéime] ná gach dhéim
Feidhm bóidheadh daoine dá dheoin
Aoine an bheoil an cóigeadh céim.

26. Aithrige ir í an feifeadh fós
Cáċ deifeal ir dí do-ċuaṙ
Deoṙ chroidhe ir colann fa sgíoṙ
Abann bíoṙ as fnoige fuaṙ.

27. An feachtmhad céim céim go fad
A neamhtaidh ir céim ar chroiċ
Céim thócaire nar dhéig neaċ
Teaċ fóṙaire ar bhéig an bioċ.

28. Céim na déirce an oċtmhadh aiṙ
[Foicadh] ar n-éigne ní fil
Famhail tearṙa don ghléin ghlain
Céim fain ar neaṙa do nimh.

29. Rom foiċ a lúireaċ gach laoi
Ir mo [ċúilleaċ] le chroiċ n'Dé
Loghadh mo fheal ceilge i gcli
[An] ti dán feaṙ meirge mé.

30. Caṫughadh ceilge ir clé dúnn
Agur mé fa mheirge an fíoġ
Ná bíodh a-noṙ caṫ gan clódh
Móṙ do [rgaṫ mo ċoṙ do ċhíon].

31. Maiṫ an talaṁ tṙuaġ an bṙéaġ
ġá aḋṙaḋ iṙ tṙuaġ maṙ táḋ
[ṙaċaiḋ] ḋá ṁuin ṙaon iṙ ṙóḋ
ġaċ taoḃ óġ aṙ naċ ḟuil ḟáḋ.

ḞaḋA.

Translation

1. I am slow to roof my house: soon shall I hear the coming shower; the world is no lasting house for him who would fain be dry.

2. I love the women of the world and its banquet; (yet) short is its spell, every day is slipping by this beloved earth which is evil for me; this passing world is not my home.

3. Our Father's house is my true home; sweet were even a spell of 'ts pleasure (?); 'tis a house unspotted by smoke, and not built of clay or stone or wood.

4. I am (as) a bird on the stream; I am drawing near the Judgment; the world is as a furnace ready to blaze forth; when the storm comes 'tis no time to roof the house.

5. My house is unroofed and no shelter above me; I am as a white field without harvest; naked is every man when taken to the home beyond; I dread lest its roof too be broken!

6. I must do my harvesting (?); I am a wretch (?) with no wealth to rely on; good is my Heavenly Lord in Heaven; I hope to go to that home of lasting wealth.

7. Badly does the Maker of my house find His contract carried out by me, and is (therefore) wroth with me; hardship from the cold of the shelterless world punishes my wilful ways.

8. Small trouble to God's good hand is the making of a house or two; alms given by a man on earth for Heaven's sake is the best covering of a house.

9. Let me go on roofing my house until tender sorrow, attained (?) in days to come, be mine once more—for hitherto there has been no check upon my folly; as for my body's comfort, God sets no store thereby.

10. Insult to my body I brook not, but (in vengeful mood) recall the achievements of my sword; as for my soul—Oh what misery!—its own body betrays it to its ruin.

11. God mounted the Cross for my sake; that I think little of His Cross will be brought against me; my foot and hand are unscathed, yet His foot and hand were pierced for me.

12. God's Son in flesh and blood went to His Crucifixion for our sakes; of His own will He suffered; woe to those on whom the guilt of His stricken body lies.

13. Beyond all value is even the amount of His wound's soreness which I inflicted; alas then that I have not even a poor amount (of merit) laid up, seeing all the blood which the spear in Christ's breast drew forth.

14. My friend, horror used to seize thee at the sight of a man parted (in death) from his comeliness; (remember that) bodies are comely only till death; wretched is the body wherein thou art.

15. O Soul whose father is God and dost not stain thy body with God's blood, remember that the blood of thy (divine) origin demands that thou do noble deeds; it was God who placed thee in a covering of that blood.

16. The body, as we know, will have been given thee by the Creator in exchange for a price; alas! it has done thee injury; poor will prove the price given by thee for that earthy stock.

17. O great Queen whom God has given me, for God's sake let me not go near to sin; thy Spouse is filled with battle-fury and wrath; leave Him then and go to (appeal to) thy Father.

18. The Lord, I know, has given to the world a choice—a choice which He gives not at the Judgment whereat thou shalt be—the Lord's fair place undimmed and the house which is God's dark dungeon.

19. Distant from me is my Lord's palace, though everlasting is life therein; to save me from my deceitful companion (the body), my Creator has given me a ladder.

20. Foolish is my companion the body; 'tis hard to ascend the proper steps, seven or eight of them, without a ladder to bring me to Heaven.

21. First of the steps is steadfast obedience leading to the sweet Lord; woe to the foot and hand 'neath which breaks this step in the ascent to Heaven.

22. The second, easier to seize, is unwearying patience; the blind and halt mount by it; woe to him who slips from the steps of the ladder.

23. The third is sweet truthfulness—may it be mine! —the deceitful apple (of Eve) is against me—I must prepare to strive for it.

24. Confession with its sweet penance is the fourth step, another step to be seized by me so that I may carry my burden on it.

25. The fifth step is abstinence in words, the avoidance of the reproach of all men, a willing service of men's wishes; this step is the hardest to mount (?) of all.

26. Penance is the sixth step; by it all men have walked aright; a tearful heart and mortified body is a river that flows upwards.

27. The seventh step, a step to blessedness is mercy neglectful of no man; the world is a . . . . . (?) of falsehood—to increase this is a terrible thing.

28. On the ladder Almsgiving is the eighth step, the one nearest Heaven, like the warmth of the bright sun; there is no other way to give me a death clean of sin.

29. I will don God's armour daily and stand with my back against His Cross; may He whose standard-bearer I am pardon my treacherous life in the flesh.

30. Tricky temptation is dangerous to me while fighting 'neath the Lord's standard: much of my limb's vigour (?) is withered: (yet) may no temptation of mine go unconquered!

31. Fair the earth, and woe to them who cling to it—sad deception! Every young body yet unburied will vanish by every road from the earth's surface.

Notes

MS. D ii 1 f. 57 *a*.

1. *c* gibé. 2. *a* agur not in MS. *c* ní. 3. *a* ir. *b* a ṫuiðe biṫ, emendation doubtful. 4. *a* ir. *b* ocur ir mé bél. *c* an. 5. *a* ċeaċ; ní ar mo. *b* ar gort. *c* leagar. *d* ma toll. 6. *b* *Leg.* trú gan? *d* ar. 7. Text and trans. doubtful. *a* da geib. *b* rcéim; doṁnan. *c* peann. *d* ar ṫi. 8. *b* t. inó trí. *d* eaṫ not in MS. 9. Text and trans. doubtful. *b* ra colainn ná cuirem. *c* gen gob í. 10. Trans. uncertain. *b* da cíṁ. 11. *b* gan móiṫ. *c* bar ar mo b. 12. *a* t. mar da ṫuib. 13. *a* uaim. *b* luagċ. *c* magg; boċt ara ċig. *d* trír. 14. *a* náṫ gabaṫ. 15. *b* naċ da ċig. 16. *a* Soicteaċ deiṫ o D. a nṫ. *b* naċ; co cheic. *d* ira cip. 17. *a* a rígandra tug. *d* oṫt ṫir. 18. *b* na tabair; *Leg* an bráṫ *d* neo *cf.* IGT § 108. 19. *a* uaim; rígeaċ. *b* biṫ. 20. *a* a curp; *Leg.* Daṫ mear *c* ceṫt. *d* a not in MS. 21. *a* uir. *c* t. a naiṁde. *d* ira. 22. *b* ní roiṫi. 23. *b* co rab hí ar ṫ. *c* ind uball. IGT 1570 has duball. 24. *d* ce beram; anund. 25. *b* do dréimire. *c* deoin. 26. *b* caċ. 27. *b* n. ar c. *d* *Leg.* róġcoire? 28. *b* foclaṫ. *d* c. rin. 29. *a* nom roiċe a. *b* cul leṫ ne choiṫ. *d* don. 30. *a* c. ar cle. *d* ṫnaṫ mo ċrob da crín. 31. c naċdaeiṫ. *d* daeiṫ; or, reading "Róinn ir róṫ" and "tóir," "multitudes shall pass away, you and I following them"?

GENERAL CHARLES JENNINGS KILMAINE
1751—1799

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

GENERAL CHARLES JENNINGS KILMAINE was the greatest of the famous Irish soldiers who, during the eighteenth century, battled for France and added lustre to the name of Ireland throughout Europe. A superb tactician, a dashing cavalry officer, he was also the friend and confidant of Napoleon. His reputation was already high on the continent when he died comparatively young in 1799. And there seems little doubt that, had he lived a few years longer, his military genius would have brought him into the front rank of the Marshals of his adopted country.

The family from which he came—the Jennings of Connacht[1]—played a notable part for centuries in the tumultuous history of their country. Extensive landed proprietors in Galway and Mayo, their steady adherence to the Catholic faith during recurring cycles of persecution resulted in the loss of most of their estates by repeated confiscations. General Kilmaine belonged to that branch of the family which was settled at Polaniran (Ironpool) near Tuam. A direct ancestor, Richard Og MacJonin, was hanged in 1599 and had his lands confiscated for the part he played in the revolt of the Connacht chiefs in Elizabethan days. Richard's son, Theobald, was slain in battle in the following year when his estate, too, was forfeited. And two generations later their fortunes were still further lowered when the storms of the Cromwellian

[1] The name Jennings is an anglicised form of the original family name, MacSeinin —son of Jenin (diminutive of Jean, the French form of John). The family was a branch of the Burkes of Connacht, the name being adopted by one of the latter named Seinin or little John (Burke). Through Norman-French influence this became Jenin and was finally anglicised into Jennings.

regime left Theobald, the representative of the line, a homeless man.

Similar vicissitudes marked the downfall of the other branch of the family that was settled round the barony of Kilmaine in the County of Mayo. In the eighteenth century many of them, accordingly, joined in the desolate flight of the "Wild Geese" across the sea. General Sir William Jennings—"the first Jennings," we are told, "who left Ballinrobe"—commanded a Brigade in the Irish army when James the Second came to Ireland and went to France after the capitulation of Limerick.[1] A contemporary French document records, too, that Redmond Jonins, a native of Shrule in Mayo, was admitted, as an officer of the Irish Brigade, in 1721 to the military hospital at Paris (Hotel des Invalides).[2] And at this time, when education was banned at home for their creed and race, the names of others of the family appear in the student-roll of the Irish colleges at Paris and various towns in France.

Theobald Jennings, the father of the distinguished soldier, belonged to the branch of the family which, as has been stated, resided at Polaniran in the neighbourhood of Tuam. Born there in the early years of the eighteenth century, he pursued a course of study in the science of medicine and became qualified as a doctor. Intensely patriotic and warmly attached to the banned religion of his ancestors, he left Ireland in 1738 when the iniquitous Penal system was crushing the body and soul of his native land. Settling in the little town of Tonnay-Charente in the south of France, he lived there till his death. He married his cousin, the daughter of a well-known Dublin citizen of the time—Laurence Saul, a wealthy distiller who resided at the sign of the "Golden Key" in Saul's Court off Fishamble Street. Saul was associated with Charles O'Conor and Sir Thomas Wyse in the first movement for Catholic emancipation which

[1] Pub. Rec. Office (Ireland). [2] Add. MSS. 21 378 (Brit Mus.).

was organised in Ireland about the middle of the eighteenth century.[1] In the year 1759 an incident occurred which casts a sinister sidelight on the status in Ireland at that time of those who professed the old faith. A Catholic heiress named O'Toole was being pressed strongly by a suitor to conform to the religion of the Established Church. From his importunities she fled for refuge to Saul's house and was harboured there for some time. Denounced by the authorities of the day, Saul was prosecuted and heavily fined, and at his trial the Chancellor, Bowes, declared that the law "does not presume a Papist to exist in the Kingdom, nor can they so much as breathe here without the connivance of the Government." Thereupon Saul resolved to leave Ireland —the "house of bondage," as he called it—and settle in France. His exiled life in that country was, however, a short one, for he died in that country in 1768. Before emigrating he wrote to his friend, Charles O'Conor :—

> Since there is not the least prospect of such a relaxation of the penal laws as would induce one Roman Catholic to tarry in this house of bondage, who can purchase a settlement in some other land where freedom and security of property can be obtained, will you condemn me for saying that, if I cannot be one of the first, I will not be one of the last to take flight from a country where I have not the least expectation of encouragement to enable me to carry on my manufactures . . . .

Birth and Early Career

In the meantime Dr. Theobald Jennings was pursuing the practice of his profession at Tonnay-Charente, where he had become a naturalised French citizen. In the middle of 1751 his wife, finding that she was about to become a mother, left for Dublin in order that their child might be born on Irish soil. She stayed with her father's family at Saul's Court, and here the famous Franco-Irish General was born on the 19 October 1751. Thirty years

[1] Dr. Edward Jennings, a cousin of General Kilmaine's father, also took an active part in this movement.

later when, as an officer of the French army, he required an official attestation of his birth for military purposes, he furnished the following document instead of the formal birth certificate, which was not then available in Ireland for adherents of the old faith :—

We, the undersigned, Principal and Provisors of the Irish College, called the College of the Lombards, in Paris, certify to all whom it may concern that Charles Edward Jennings, Baron of Kilmaine, officer in Lauzun's Hussars, son of Theobald Edward Jennings, Baron of Kilmaine, and of Dame Eleonore Saul, his father and mother in legitimate marriage, was born at Dublin in the Parish of Rose Mary Lane on 19 October 1751 and was baptised according to the rites of the Catholic Church.

We also certify that, since the Protestant Reformed religion became dominant in Ireland, the Catholic Clergy have not been able to keep any legal registers of baptisms, marriages or deaths. In faith of which we have signed the present certificate at Paris on the 6 May 1784.

Signed, Ch. O'Neill, Principal and Provisor
P. Flood, Provisor
W. Burke [1]

Young Kilmaine was reared in Dublin with his relatives till 1769, when his father brought him, then in his eleventh year, to Tonnay-Charente.[2] He was educated in this town and became particularly proficient as a linguist, speaking with facility, besides French, the four principal languages of Europe. At the termination of his studies he entered the French army, joining in 1774 the regiment of the Royal Dragoons as a simple cadet. He studied every branch of military science, we are told, with much zest and seriousness, and at the end of four years became Adjutant in the Foreign Volunteers of Lauzun. Immediately after his association with it, this corps was sent to Senegal to take part in the French war against England then raging in that country. After a successful campaign

[1] This document is in the *dossier* of General Kilmaine in the *Arch. de la Guerre*. It is countersigned by the Archbishop of Paris at the time. The title "Baron of Kilmaine," which occurs in the document, is a mythical one. Such titles would be a help towards military promotion at that period in France.

[2] A portrait of him hangs in the Hotel de Ville there.

it returned to France in 1779, and in 1780 young Kilmaine was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant in the famous Hussars of Lauzun, the first cavalry regiment in the army.[1] In the same year this body formed part of the French expeditionary force that was sent across the Atlantic to assist the Americans in the War of Independence. The Irish officer distinguished himself in many battles during that campaign, and his experiences there strengthened in him the love of liberty and hatred of tyranny which he had imbibed during his boyhood in Ireland. Returning to France, he was appointed Director of military tactics at the riding school of Lauzun's regiment, while at the same time he taught the new system of manoeuvres at the important cavalry centre of Metz. And in 1788—the year preceding the outbreak of the Revolution—the high talents he had begun to show brought him a Captaincy in the cavalry corps to which he belonged. Such rapid promotion for one who, in the France of those days, could, like Kilmaine, command no Court influence and did not belong to the patrician class, indicated a brilliant future for the young Irish officer.

After the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 he became a zealous supporter of the new ideas of liberty that began to spread throughout France. Nor was his enthusiasm to be wondered at—he had in his boyhood seen his father and kinsmen treated as outcasts in their own land and become wandering exiles from her shores. His passionate devotion to the new doctrines impelled him to preach them openly to the hussars of his regiment at Verdun. He told them that the duty of French soldiers was "to fight and overcome the enemies of their country, but never to draw their swords for the purpose of serving the designs of tyranny." For this action he was placed under arrest and detained for a short time in prison in the year 1789. His experience, however, did

[1] Charles MacMahon, the father of Marshal MacMahon, was at this time Colonel of Lauzun's Hussars.

not alter his sentiments or lessen his enthusiasm. Two years later, when the question of loyalty to the Revolution or the Monarchy became a burning one in the various regiments of the French army and when officers began to leave France in increasing numbers, Kilmaine carried on a zealous propaganda in favour of the new regime amongst the higher and lower ranks of his corps. He was extremely popular with both his fellow-officers and the men under his command, and the result was that the regiment of Lauzun, which at first seemed disposed to desert, remained loyal to the cause of the Revolution during the crisis. He was one of the first officers, too, who after the attempted flight of the King in 1791 came forward to swear allegiance to the National Assembly. There was just then, owing to emigration, an increasing number of vacancies in the higher army ranks, and Kilmaine's growing military reputation secured him promotion as *chef d'escadron*—the post which he held when war broke out between monarchic Europe and revolutionary France in April 1792.

In the War against Monarchic Europe

The political state of France and the condition of her army at the outbreak of war in April 1792 have been described in some detail in an earlier article.[1] We have there seen that the first great conflict between her troops and those of the Allies occurred at Valmy in September of that year. A notable part in that brilliant victory for France was played by Kilmaine with some squadrons of the splendid cavalry regiment to which he belonged. At their head, we are told, he penetrated through the forest of the Argonnes "to places where a horse had never gone before" and, reaching the important pass of Grand Pré, proceeded to harass the Prussians and intercept their convoys. During the critical manoeuvres of the battle, too, the heroic resistance displayed by a body of hussars under his command saved a whole French division

[1] See "General O'Moran and the French Revolution" in the issue of Dec. 1933.

from annihilation in the defiles of Croix aux Bois. His conduct was so distinguished, indeed, in the Valmy campaign that his superior officer, General Beurnonville, singled him out for special praise: "In skill, resolution and intelligence Kilmaine, that splendid soldier, could not be excelled during those perilous days for France."

After the victory at Valmy, Dumouriez the French Commander-in-Chief proceeded to undertake the conquest of Belgium. The regiment of Lauzun's Hussars formed a chief part of the vanguard of the invading army that, early in November 1792, crossed the frontier into that country. No sooner had it done so than its advance was challenged by the enemy at Jemappes. The issue of the sanguinary battle which took place there was for a long while doubtful. At its most critical stage a French brigade in the centre of the field of operations wavered and recoiled, and the battle seemed lost to France. But Kilmaine and the Duke of Chartres, the future King of the French, immediately filled the gap with their regiments —an action which, as all military tacticians then and since have admitted, saved the day. Dumouriez was so elated that he called the Irish officer *le brave Kilmaine*— the name by which he was ever afterwards known—and promoted him to the rank of Colonel on the battlefield. Afterwards the Commander-in-Chief declared that Kilmaine was "one of the most experienced officers in the army" and that he had saved the centre of the line of infantry on the fateful day. As a consequence the subsequent months witnessed his rapid promotion: in January 1793 he became Colonel, in March he was General of Brigade and in May General of Division.

After the victory at Jemappes Kilmaine had acquired a high reputation as a commander of the advance guard. In that capacity he accompanied Dumouriez in the conquest of Belgium, the entire extent of which was after a short time in the possession of France. That brilliant campaign was followed by a reaction in the

French forces. Starving and without pay, lacking bridles and saddles, pistols and sabres, hundreds deserted daily. Kilmaine was tireless in his efforts to maintain order in the demoralised regiments, and out of his own private resources contributed to the support of the soldiers.

The French forces, having experienced continuous reverses during the forced evacuation of Belgium in the spring of 1793, fell back into their own country. The disorganised and dispirited state to which they were reduced left France in a perilous position, and at the same time the defection of Dumouriez, the Commander-in-Chief, to the enemy added to her ill-fortune. His successor was Dampierre, a bold and enterprising soldier, under whose orders Kilmaine had the responsible task of guarding the frontier from Sedan to Longwy. Here the Irish officer was involved in frequent engagements during the months of April and May. At this time the French fortress-towns of Valenciennes and Condé—two of the great gateways to France—were being besieged by the allied army, and the Republic was concentrating all her energies on their relief. Early in May Dampierre made a gallant but fruitless effort to relieve Condé. In this he was supported by Kilmaine who, on the first two days of that month, led his hussars in what are described as "the murderous engagements" among the woods of Vicogne and Saint Amand—several horses were shot under him during the fighting. And we are told that, in the week's skirmishing which followed, he "never had his boots off nor returned his sabre once to the scabbard." In a despatch to the National Convention, giving an account of these early operations, Dampierre wrote :—

> I tried to drive the enemy from several villages occupied by them on the road from Valenciennes to Quesnoi . . . . . The advance guard under General Kilmaine fought with its usual courage—the killed and wounded of the enemy forces numbered six hundred. I proceeded from the main body to the vanguard, where the valiant Kilmaine had two horses shot under him.[1]

[1] *Moniteur*, 6 May 1793.

On the 9 May another effort, by means of a general attack along the whole allied line, was made to relieve the beleaguered town. At the height of the battle Dampierre was, however, struck by a cannon ball and fell mortally wounded. Kilmaine continued to fight on during the day with his usual reckless valour, but by nightfall the French were routed with heavy loss. The defeat and the death of their Commander had a most depressing effect on the troops, and to the Irish officer fell the task of covering their disorderly retreat back to their camp.

Much ill-feeling had developed at this period between the Generals of the army and the Representatives on mission; at the instigation of the latter, officers were frequently recalled to Paris, where imprisonment or the guillotine was generally their fate. It is, accordingly, with some surprise that one reads the tributes just then from many of these officials to the Irish commander. In a despatch to the Committee of Public Safety one of them wrote: "Brave, enterprising, energetic, Kilmaine, General of the advance guard, would be difficult to replace in the event of any accident to him. He seems anxious to have supreme command, which it would, perhaps, be imprudent to confer on him on account of his foreign birth—he is an Irishman and Republicanism does not easily penetrate into Irish heads." [1] A second Representative recommended him at the same time as the only General on whose skill and energy reliance could be placed to crush the insurrection then raging in La Vendée—and especially so, it was added, as Kilmaine had a wise and philanthropic plan for the pacification of that province. And still another proposed to the great Committee that, by reason of his talents and energy, he should be given supreme command of the Army of Rochelle.

Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Armies

On receiving news of Dampierre's death the Committee of Public Safety discussed the situation that existed along

[1] *Corresp. générale de Carnot*, Tome 2.

the northern frontier, which was seriously threatened by 100,000 of the allied army. Kilmaine was recognised to be the only officer available to carry out efficiently the duties of Commander-in-Chief, and the Committee accordingly nominated him for the vacant post. The Representatives on mission objected, however, to his appointment because he was of foreign birth, and it was conferred on General Custine. But unjust charges of disloyalty were soon brought against the latter, and he was summoned to Paris. His trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal followed, and he ended his life on the scaffold of the guillotine. Kilmaine was then chosen as the new Commander-in-Chief, but protested that his military abilities were not such as would enable him to discharge satisfactorily the duties of the stupendous task. "Some other more fitting than I am," he said, "should accept the heavy responsibility of leading the troops of the Republic." After some persuasion, however, he gave his consent, and in a letter to the National Convention he affirmed his own loyalty and that of his troops to the Nation, adding that his motto would be: *To strike high, to speak low and little!*

The circumstances of the period made the burden imposed on him a desperate one. The poorly equipped soldiers of the Republic were faced by an enemy that trebled them in numbers. Discipline among them was in a condition almost chaotic. In addition, the surrender had just taken place of Condé and Valenciennes, the fortresses on which France depended so much, and it seemed as if at any moment the great allied army would surge forward on a victorious march into her territory.

Immediately after assuming command in the early days of August Kilmaine was entrenched with his troops in a fairly strong position known as Caesar's Camp. Only forty leagues, however, lay between him and Paris, and if any defeat befell his army, there would be a clear road for the enemy to the capital. On the 7 August the

latter advanced and, appearing in strength before the French camp, threatened it on all sides. In a despatch to the Minister of War Kilmaine wrote :—

> Yesterday morning an enemy column of 20,000 men turned our position and simultaneously made an attack on all our posts. This was maintained with much intrepidity, and I was compelled to retreat . . . . . Pursued by 6,000 cavalry, I had only 2,000 with which to oppose them. Three times we charged the enemy and killed sixty of them. Our audacity bewildered them ; our cavalry behaved most heroically. Theirs is treble ours, and there is nothing we are in more need of . . . . .

Next day he complains in a further letter of this lack of cavalry in his command area where, more than anywhere else in his opinion, the life of the Republic was at stake :—

> Egoism is our ruin, for there exists among us an egoism of Commanders, an egoism of individual regiments, an egoism of towns and departments. It is here in the north, however, that the enemy is making his biggest efforts, and it is here we must mobilise all our strength ; and while this is so, the Army of the North, which is in the direst need of cavalry, has in fact fewer than any other. . . . . .

The advance of the enemy continued all day on the 7 August, and by nightfall the allied army of 80,000 men threatened the French camp.[1] The situation was a critical one for Kilmaine. Hurriedly summoning a council of officers, he proposed a retreat as the only thing that would save France and the cause of the Revolution. The proposal was approved and, before dawn on the 8th, the great camp was evacuated, the army of the Republic falling back to a strong position behind the river Scarpe. The result was that, when the allied forces debouched in front of Caesar's Camp, they found it to their surprise completely abandoned. Kilmaine's move was a masterly one—it has been described as " the most glorious exploit

[1] Kilmaine, realising the importance of gaining time, adopted superb tactics that delayed the enemy advance. Gay de Vernon, an officer of his staff, says in his book, *Custine et Houchard*, that the Irish officer mobilised his 3,000 cavalry against the allied columns with great spirit and success, " hampering their progress, forcing their leading regiments to deploy, and making feigned attacks when his only thought was to defend himself and gain time."

in his career." [1] When the news of the retreat reached Paris, however, there was consternation on all sides. "Execrations rose against Kilmaine," Thiers says, "the essential service he rendered by his splendid retreat being entirely overlooked." [2]

The fate of so many another brave General of the time befell him. He was immediately deprived of his post as Commander-in-Chief and dismissed from the army. In addition, the extreme Jacobin faction assailed him at the same time. He was Irish, they said, and a foreigner; he had family relations with the English; he was described as "Baron" in the days of the Monarchy and was therefore a noble; he had prevented the distribution of patriotic papers among the troops—such were some of the jibes flung at him. Robespierre, entirely ignorant of military tactics, said his retreat was a crime and, mistaking his nationality, dubbed him an Englishman. And Saint Just in a proposal at the National Convention, advocating the arrest throughout the Republic of all foreigners whose countries were at war with the Republic, echoed his master—"how can any Englishman be trusted after Kilmaine who was loaded with honours by us?" On the other hand the gallant soldier Houchard, the new Commander-in-Chief, begged the Minister of War that the dismissed General should be appointed leader of the advance guard as the only officer who had the confidence of the troops and whose ability fitted him for the task. The request was refused, and Kilmaine retired into private life—but only for a short time, as we shall see in a further article.

RICHARD HAYES

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[1] A. Chuquet in *Hondschoote* (*les Guerres de la Revolution*).

[2] A. Chuquet, the historian of the first Revolutionary War, writes: "He (Kilmaine) was particularly charged with being Irish, and that origin, which should have gilded his glory, was now used against him. Yet, later on, this son of Ireland, who showed in a hospitable land how necessary it was to fight for liberty, was highly lauded. And when in 1798 he received command of the army destined for the invasion of England, it used to be said of him with affection that he fixed his eyes on his native land, which he intended to deliver from the British yoke."

THE TRAINED SOCIAL WORKER IN BELGIUM

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

THERE are certain obvious truths that somehow need re-stating, time after time, and one of these is that social service—the modern equivalent of time-honoured charity—requires a trained head as well as a kind heart; otherwise well-meant efforts are likely to be of small avail. Much as many may regret it, methods have changed, and St. Vincent de Paul himself would not be permitted by the modern municipality to gather in the waifs and strays from the street—on the principle that any roof is better than none—and overcrowd his premises without any measuring of cubic air-space, any provision for warm baths, any thought of modern hygiene. Charity, on its active as distinct from its spiritual mission, has to submit, like all else, to the supervision of officialdom and the discipline of Acts and Bye-laws. Hence knowledge and training for the social worker become progressively more indispensable.

It has not been easy to reconcile the charitable-minded, especially among Catholics, to these altered conditions. There still linger among us those who denounce committees, abhor any interference and scatter their largesse as they please, indifferent to the fact that it is mainly the professional beggar who thrives on their soft-hearted credulity. But most of us have learned from experience the absolute need for co-operation and investigation, with all the tiresome paraphernalia of case-papers and card-indexing, if the really needy are to be found and helped in the best way. And though in one's heart one may hate the expression "the deserving poor" and at times rebel in spirit against the authority and dilatoriness of committees, the plain fact remains that endless blunders and over-lapping and waste of money can be avoided by no other means.

More and more, indeed, one comes to realise that the best help of all one can give to one's poor and harassed neighbours is good advice based on skilled knowledge and experience. To a great extent one has to be an unofficial "poor man's lawyer," supplying definite and clear information on a multitude of semi-legal matters: on the mysteries of unemployment benefit, on the differences between the old poor-law and the new public assistance, on the terms on which Old Age Pensions are granted, on the powers of the S.P.C.C. and the S.P.C.A., on the purposes of the many new Acts of Parliament that come along. Even such a simple matter as to put people in touch with the actual organisation best suited to their need—the right hospital, the nearest baby-clinic and so forth—often requires far wider knowledge than many would-be helpers of the poor possess. And it is no exaggeration to say that frequently it is this timely advice, this lifting of the helpless individual out of the bewildering circumstances of his life, that constitutes a far closer bond of friendship and a more real tie of gratitude than the mere giving of alms.

It has long been axiomatic that small countries are, in many ways, better governed than empires—the job is easier and results come home more directly to the conscience of the people. Thus Switzerland has set us all an example in practical education (are there not even special schools for aspirant hotel-keepers ?), Denmark in agricultural organisation, and so on. So it is not surprising to find that little Belgium is in the van in providing training for every class of modern social worker, male and female, and that her schools of Social Service attract students from countries as far apart as Brazil and Japan.

The centre of this educational activity, of this specialised preparation for the service of God, lies, as far as women are concerned, in a vast four-storied building in the rue de la Poste, Brussels. This is the "Secrétariat Général des Oeuvres Sociales Féminines Chrétiennes de

Belgique." Originally the home of a large Visitation community, its street aspect is somewhat austere; but once within its precincts it is realised that two great wings stretch backwards looking on to a wide airy space of garden and orchard. This hive of industry has been admirably adapted to its purpose. From the long corridors open out an endless series of well-fitted up, central-heated offices for superintendents, secretaries, clerks, typists. One must distinguish here between (*a*) the actual Social school for students; (*b*) the general secretariat that organises all the activities of the "Action Sociale Ouvrière"; (*c*) the "Union Catholique Internationale de Service Social" which links up the Belgian organisation with similar Catholic social schools in other lands. All these three organisations are housed in the same building. Moreover it has to be remembered that whatever is done for the Flemish-speaking provinces must be repeated on precisely similar lines for the French-speaking, for never was the "flamingant" question more acute than to-day. Thus it is that at the head of the whole organisation we find two secretaries-general: Mlle. Baers for the Flemish and Mlle. Berthe de Lalieux for the French section. By length of service and remarkable organising capacity Mlle. Baers is deservedly the foremost figure in the movement. It was she and Mlle. Cappe who, after the war, valiantly gathered up the broken threads of the women's social and industrial organisations and started to build up a federation of working-women's leagues that would cover the country with a net-work of Catholic *oeuvres* and penetrate into every working-class home. This "Christian Social Action" was to be the feminine counter-part of the men's Catholic organisations and was to co-operate closely with them, while adapting its methods to women's needs and creating for them appropriate social centres. No one was more keen on this development than the late Cardinal Mercier. It was an enterprise that needed, just after the war, a high degree both of faith and capacity, and

indeed its arduous labours proved fatal to Mlle. Cappe, who died prematurely some years ago. Happily it was possible to re-place her by Mlle. de Lalieux, one of the ablest of the ex-students of the Social School.

It was Mlle. Baers herself who, with much courtesy, revealed to us the scope of this far-reaching organisation. The basic aim, she told us, was the building-up of Christian family life among the people and so to educate the women that it is they themselves who carry on this Christian propaganda. With this object a "Ligue Ouvrière Féminine" is founded wherever possible, so that through it the ideals of Christian family life may be brought vividly before its members. These are presented in three aspects: devotion and loyalty to the husband—hence no divorce; devotion to the children—hence no birth-control; devotion to home life—hence no factory work for mothers. Very wisely this triple conception of family life has been interpreted in its widest sense and has given rise to a whole series of social, educational and economic organisations. Leagues vary somewhat in their practical activities, but almost everywhere for the young mothers there have been organised pre-natal and infant consultations and classes on popular hygiene, for the children country and sea-side holidays, and for the girls cookery, needle-work and knitting-classes. Much attention is devoted also to thrift and to the wise spending of household resources, and the women are encouraged to study communal matters and to take an intelligent interest in all public questions that affect family life and their own special concerns. The recreative side of life is kept to the fore through the organisation of patronal feasts, summer excursions and so forth, and continuous attention is of course paid to the solid religious formation of the members by means of retreat days and sermons. Considerable ingenuity seems to be displayed in this connection. Due preparation for the great Feasts of the Church, such as Christmas and Easter, is aimed at; for the Christmas of 1932, with this

object in view, the central council proposed that the " pères de famille " should be invited by their wives to construct for the home a crib, for each of which the Council was prepared to present a figure of the Holy Child. The idea proved so popular that no less than 4,773 cribs were constructed by working class fathers and were exhibited locally at functions at which the figures of the Infant Jesus were distributed. To show that " Action Sociale " neglects no side of life it should be added that, in addition to spiritual recommendations for Christmas, recipes were issued for good and cheap fare.

Administratively the whole of the " Action Sociale Ouvrière " is organised on a national, regional and local basis with appropriate committees and delegates and monthly and quarterly meetings. Whenever a sufficient number of leagues have been developed in any area, they are linked together in a Federation which has its own offices and secretariat and a competent " dirigeante " to do organising work, and these again send their delegates to the central body in the rue de la Poste. According to the latest available statistics there are to-day 777 women's leagues with a total membership of some 181,500 women, grouped in 31 regional federations. A " national propagandist " travels about organising and supervising the administrative side of the work. Every two years a great national congress is held—that of 1932 brought together in Brussels over 1,000 women delegates from all parts ; it lasted two days and carried out an exhausting programme of addresses and discussions.

It is obvious from the foregoing that a " school " is an indispensable adjunct to so wide and progressive an organisation. How else would trained and devoted secretaries, lecturers and writers be forthcoming ? The two institutes have indeed grown side by side in closest co-operation. It is largely from within the framework of the League that pupils for the social school are recruited. Every federation is bound to organise local lectures and

study-circles for its more zealous and educated members, and it is from among these that the more efficient are urged to pass on to the school in the rue de la Poste where a strenuous two years' course awaits them, divided between theoretic and practical study. Many students live outside, but some twenty-five board in the school itself, where needless to say they enjoy airy class-rooms, a large library and a big roof-terrace over one wing of the building with a marvellous view over the city and surrounding country. Students must be over eighteen years of age and have had a secondary education or appropriate industrial experience. The curriculum necessarily covers a very wide field, students being mainly prepared to take up work as factory inspectors and welfare workers, heads of labour exchanges, librarians, superintendents of all forms of children's welfare services, as well as for the higher posts of the central secretariat. Great attention is paid to the training of the pupils in Christian doctrine and to the development of their character and sense of social responsibility. A beautiful and austere little chapel has been built in concrete on modern lines, where daily Mass is celebrated.

The Belgian Government subsidises and co-operates closely with the work of the School, controlling the examinations and conferring the official title of " auxiliaire sociale " on all successful candidates for the diploma. There are now 272 holders of this much esteemed distinction at work in Belgium in every field of social activity, paid and unpaid. As a result the Secretariat is in the happy position of always being able to lay its hand on a trained and zealous worker for any vacant post, a position of affairs that may well fill with envy Catholic societies in other lands. The school is also available for students who can only follow short courses on special subjects of post-graduate courses, and a warm welcome is extended to students from other lands. Both Polish and Brazilian girls have been enrolled, and arrangements are

being made for two Catholic Japanese students. As regards Brazil it is perhaps worth noting that the first step was a request for a trained lecturer from the school to give courses on social science at San Paulo, and these proved so inspiring that two Brazilian students were sent over for full training.

Every one must have heard by now of the splendid J.O.C. movement—the *Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne*—which is doing such apostolic work among the young workingmen of Belgium. The corresponding movement for girls —the J.O.C.F.—is the youth department of the " Action Sociale Ouvrière," with its own secretariat in the rue de la Poste and an organisation on similar lines to that of the women. In French and in Flemish it caters for the young work-girl from the day she leaves school—indeed it enrols her during her last year—advising her on a trade, teaching her useful handicrafts, organising her holidays, keeping her up to her religious duties, persuading her to retreats and so forth. The two sections of the J.O.C.F., though only founded in 1925, can already boast a membership of some 28,000, divided among 784 local sections and 35 regional federations. Almost needless to add that, for the youth sections as for the older women, the " Action Sociale Ouvrière " makes the fullest use of the press. Its various monthly publications, as well as its leaflets, are quite first-rate for their purpose, brightly written, admirably produced and filled with really artistic illustrations. It is not surprising to learn that the total number distributed last year amounted to 271,900.

However successful and energetic an organisation may be, it is obvious that it cannot cover the whole social ground even in a small country like Belgium, and the central secretariat very wisely recognises this fact and gladly co-operates with other organisations already in the field. Perhaps the most important of these is the great Belgian Boerenbond, the wide-spread Christian co-operative association for farmers and land-workers with a

membership of over 127,000 men. This too has its women's and girls' sections, and while the "Action Sociale Ouvrière" can the more easily reach the women and girls in the towns and villages, it is the Boerenbond that enrols the farmers' wives and daughters throughout the purely agricultural districts. It too has arrived at the surprising total female membership of 113,000, of whom some 12,800 are girls under 18 years of age. The Boerenbond sections are perhaps more purely educational in their aims, striving to fit their members for agricultural life and carrying on an active educational propaganda that must have practical effect on the prosperity of the agricultural districts. At the same time the Boerenbond is a frankly Catholic organisation—its multifarious activities might well entitle it to an article to itself[1]—and it has probably done more than any other lay organisation in Belgium to keep the farming population from Socialism.

An official organisation with which "Action Sociale" works in close and cordial relations, is the "Oeuvre Nationale de l'Enfance," founded immediately after the War with the active encouragement of the late King Albert and the Queen. This national work on behalf of infant welfare combines most happily the advantages of state supervision and trained workers with voluntary aid and private benefactions. In the main it is supported by national, provincial and communal grants, and is organised, through provincial committees and a whole network of clinics and consultations, with all the thoroughness for which the Flemish race is noted. Thus—to give but one example—those years between babyhood and school, during which in England and no doubt also in Ireland little or nothing is done officially to protect the health of the "toddler," are thoroughly covered under the Belgian system: the rate-aided day-nurseries retain their charges till at the age of three they pass directly into the infant schools, while a thorough system of home visiting

[1] [An article on the Boerenbond was published in STUDIES, June 1927.—Editor].

by " infirmières visiteuses," highly trained health visitors, ensures supervision of home conditions for all children up to school age. Thus theoretically at least, and to a great extent practically, there exists for every Belgian child of the working-classes a complete chart of its health from birth to its third year.

Necessarily this national work has to be carried on on a non-religious basis, but fortunately not in an anti-religious spirit. We were assured on good authority that since the War religious bitterness has largely died down and that the wiser heads in all parties are anxious that it should not revive. And, clearly, by collaboration with this state organisation which is effecting so much for the health of the rising generation, the workers trained under the auspices of the Catholic Social Schools can often contribute what it may lack on the spiritual side. Perhaps the only institutions run by the " Oeuvre Nationale " from which a real religious spirit is regrettably absent are the Homes for girl-mothers, one of which we were privileged to visit. Quite admirable on its hygienic side, with a large airy house, spacious garden and well-organised wards and nurseries, the atmosphere was somehow chilling, and one wondered how much up-building of character was being effected among the fifty inmates where the only possible religious influence was restricted to a small chapel in which, we understood, Holy Mass was sometimes celebrated. Perhaps the perfection of the material and medical help provided tends to close the eyes of all concerned to the urgent need for further help on the spiritual side.

It must not be assumed that expert social service is the prerogative of women only. For many years now the Dominican Fathers have run a very successful Higher School of Social Studies for working-men at Heverle, near Louvain. This college, like similar non-Catholic institutions in Belgium, is subsidised by the State, success in the final exams. entitling to a state diploma. The lecturers at Heverle are men of learning and high repute, and one

or two of the best students of the year usually pass on to Louvain university to work for their Doctorate of Law. Very full facilities for advanced social study exist at Louvain, where there are two years' courses in both political and social science in preparation for the Licentiate. The degree of Doctor requires a further two years, including research work in a foreign country and the writing of a thesis. All these faculties are of course open to women as to men, and many of the students devote themselves subsequently to paid work of a social character. It is perhaps worth mentioning that at least one English archdiocese has sent a young priest for two years to Louvain in order that he may study social science and familiarise himself with Catholic social activities throughout Belgium with a view to co-ordinating Catholic social effort at home, and it is not unlikely that other dioceses may follow suit.

On every visit to Belgium one reflects afresh how greatly the hold of the Church on the working population has been strengthened—as in the past in Germany—by this solidly built up and skilfully devised body of social and economic works embracing life at every point. Social work in Belgium is far more democratically organised than, for instance, in France; far more is done for the people by the people, and this no doubt is one secret of its stability and success. In a sense Belgian Catholics are fighting Socialism with its own weapons, creating a network of institutions that make for the betterment of the population and for the raising of their standard of comfort, while, on the other hand, striving to permeate the whole life of the people with the religious spirit. And with this aim in view they have realised that work for God and the Church requires to-day as much intellectual preparation as work for personal profit, and that the wholly untrained volunteer, however zealous, does not suffice for the work in hand. It is perhaps in this matter of organised training that the Belgian example should be the concern of us all.

V. M. Crawford

THE CIVIL SURVEY OF TIPPERARY 1654—1655

BY PROFESSOR T. CORCORAN, S.J., D.LITT.

THE issue, at Eastertide 1934, of the second volume of the *Civil Survey of Ireland*, 1654-1656,* completes the publication of one fully representative section of this important undertaking, which was entered on four years ago by the Irish Manuscripts Commission. The two volumes on the County of Tipperary contain some 800 closely printed quarto pages of historical text, drawn from the official copy certified for some thirty years ago by Mr. M. J. McEnery, of the old Public Record Office. The very arduous service of its preparation for press, as well as the two sets of Introductory Notes, are due to the unflagging zeal of Mr. R. C. Simington, of the Quit Rent Office. These baronial, territorial, and urban surveys, taken down from witnesses almost exclusively Irish, men of Tipperary both Gael and Norman, being "Irish Papists," provide not only an entirely typical and authentic account of a definite historical region, but also a fair specimen of the manifold publications already placed before the historical and literary world of European and extra-European scholarship by this newest of its class among State Commissions. The high value of these volumes on Ireland has, indeed, already received signal recognition in the learned journals of various peoples, and has appealed to even a wider public with no small measure of success. Witness, for instance, the leading article in *The Times* of London (27 March, 1933) devoted to one section of the publications of the New Irish Commission. Before describing, in the most appreciative terms, the *Red Book of Ormond* and the first series on the mediaeval *Ormond Deeds*, that article summarised and appraised the list of the Manuscripts Commission as far as its work had then appeared :—

"Since it began work, three or four years ago, the Commission has issued a number of interesting volumes, such as collections of Gaelic genealogies, a portion of the mid-seventeenth-century Civil Survey of Irish counties, an index, by Professor Yves M. Goblet, to Petty's maps, a first instalment of the Rinuccini Commentary on the Cromwellian Wars, and a collotype reproduction of the famous Senchas Mor, or Ancient Laws of Ireland. Scholars, indeed, have no cause to complain of the riches lavished upon them from the new Ireland."

* *The Civil Survey*, 1654-1656, *County of Tipperary*. Vol. I. (1931). Pp. xxxviii +388. 10s. net. Vol. II. (1934), Pp. xxxiii+418. 15s. net. Irish Manuscripts Commission. Prepared for publication, with Introductory Notes, by Robert C. Simington, of the Quit Rent Office. (Dublin: Stationery Office).

The entire content of the Civil Survey of Tipperary was taken down, with all place-names phonetically expressed, between July 1654 and February 1655, or rather within five of these eight months. For the several baronies and territories, local juries were empannelled at various urban centres by the Cromwellian Commissioners. The total number of these jurors was close upon 160, of whom about 110 were of Gaelic stock, 40 were Normans (" the English race of ancient habitation "), and the small residue were ranked as New English, chiefly Commonwealth officials or dependants. The Gaels and Normans were, with less than five exceptions, designated on the official record as " gentlemen," and in most cases their places of residence were stated. One " farmer " is named ; a couple of " husbandemen " and a few " merchants " are so described, mainly for the city of Clonmel.

The region dealt with in this well-planned and detailed Survey is some 75 to 50 miles in length, north to south ; its breadth is from 40 to 45 miles (English) on the average. It contains about one million English acres within its unaltered boundaries of to-day. An air photograph would doubtless show up the great peaks of Galtee Mor and Slievenamon to the south-west and south-east, Ciamaltha (or Keeper) and Lough Derg on the north-west, and Bearnan Eile (the Devil's Bit) near the north-east, as distinctive and famous heights, while St. Patrick's Rock at Cashel, with Holy Cross Abbey walls by the upper Suir, are no less well-known points in the core of the county. Within it, Baronies and Territories, as in the Survey and Confiscation epoch three centuries ago, are still well known to at least the elders on the land ; these divisions range themselves thus :—

(*North-West*)			(*North-East*)
LOWER-ORMOND		IKERRIN	
ARRA & OWNEY	UPPER-ORMOND	ILEIGH	ELIOGARTY
KILNELONGURTY			SLIEVE-ARDAGH & COMPSY
KILNAMANAGH		MIDDLE-THIRD	
CLANWILLIAM			
	IFFA and OFFA		
(*South-West*)			(*South-East*)

The decision to publish the Civil Survey of 1654-1656, so far as it has survived and has been or can be recovered from the families of Cromwellian stock and their descendants who appear to have very early got possession of it, was taken at the Quit Rent Office, Ormond Quay, Dublin, on January 9, 1930, by a

sub-committee of the Irish MSS. Commission. Its report, made through its Chairman the late Dr. William Francis Butler, M.A., was promptly confirmed by the Commission and by the Ministries concerned. The text for some ten counties, in complete or nearly complete state, is available: small fragments are known to exist for two or three other counties out of the whole thirty-two. Dr. Butler, as he then declared, was much attracted by the admixture of Gaelic and Norman tenures of land, as reported for the years 1640-1641, in the sample volume inspected, that for the Barony of Ikerrin. On that period and on its land-problems he had written learnedly for many years before his untimely death, which came within a few weeks of the decision to publish. But the interlaced proprietorships of Gael and Norman, extending even to conjoint ownerships of specified townlands, in complex and ever varying proportions, all depending on "descent from their ancestors, as wee are informed," were most attractively displayed before the historian's eye in his own county, from barony to barony. Its entire land record of 1654-55, designed to aid in carrying out the Cromwellian Confiscations, is now available in handy form for all students of Irish regional history.

It is a most ample exposition, assuredly not to be equalled in its scope and in all its wealth of detail, in its surety of sources and in its authentic testimony, by any area of Europe for that period. It has the further advantage that it presents the Catholic proprietorship of all Tipperary land, as it stood before the Twelve Years' War of 1641-52, and as it did not stand again till after the Land Act of 1923. For, before the Confederate Wars, Tipperary was very fully Catholic in ownership. "English Protestants," as this official record of all the county always terms them, did not hold more than a small part of the land; and most of that was owned by James, Earl of Ormond, Protestant grandchild of "Earl Walter of the Rosaries." That Catholic lord, last Catholic of his line, was wantonly and illegally imprisoned by James I of England, during the period 1614-1625, and was arbitrarily deprived of all his estates by the same degenerate and vicious ruler. The son of Mary Stuart did more: for he caused his innocent and loyal prisoner the special anguish of knowing that his grandson and heir, James, the twelfth Earl, first Marquis, first Duke of Ormond, had been illegally withdrawn from his Catholic mother's care and assigned to Archbishop Abbot of Canterbury at a tender age, to be made a sound Protestant of a Calvinist turn. The process was so far successful that this first Protestant Marquis and Duke of Ormond lived to defeat the

claims of thousands of loyal Norman Catholics in Ireland who sought the return of their confiscated estates after the Stuart Restoration in 1660. The Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant, was "the man in the gap," as Cromwellians like Robert Southwell exultingly wrote, who confirmed the grip of the new Cromwellian landlords on the land of Tipperary and of all Ireland.

In 1641, the year for which the Civil Survey lists all the Proprietors of all the estates in Tipperary, this had not yet come to pass, though it was soon announced as the policy of the rebel Parliament at London. Thus this Civil Survey is almost exclusively, as far as family names go, an account of the Catholic "landed gentry" of 1640-41, all of whom were to either die for the Catholic cause, or go into exile for the Faith, or be "transplanted" into Connaught, or sent into servitude in the Barbadoes, or executed by the Cromwellian Military Council set up in Dublin Castle. Both in the narrative and tabular sections of the Civil Survey, as on the "Down Survey" Maps of 1655-1659, all care was devoted to safeguard "English Protestants" and "Protestant Land," both expressly so designated. Some few land-sharks of that epoch, as Boyle, Earl of Cork, Leonard "the shewmaker," Sir Philip Perceval, Lord Esmond, Oliver Jones, Sir Hardress Waller, had managed to secure some small segments of spoil within Tipperary before 1641. But the really notable pair of Protestant owners were the Earl and the Countess of Ormond. All the other Butler estates were in the hands of Butlers who were "Irish Papists." There were well over one hundred of them, associated with the Butler peerages of Ikerrin and Dunboyne, but well placed in every barony and territory save Ileigh. Thus there were 26 Catholic Butlers, landowners in fee, over Middle-third, the Cashel-Fethard country; 27 in Iffa and Offa, from Carrick-on-Suir almost to Galtymore; 14 in Clanwilliam, around its central town of Tipperary; 12 in Eliogarty, from Templemore to Thurles and Holycross. But in both the Ormond Baronies, around their 13th century castle of Nenagh, in Ikerrin, and in the other regions of the county, they fell below 10 always.

Next to the Butlers in numbers and in influence was the great name of Bourke, always so spelled in the Civil Survey. It was strongest in the distinctive de Burgo regions of Clanwilliam (22), Ileigh (19), Arra (9), but had penetrated into six other areas of the county, and had 62 proprietors of land, in all. The house of Everard, famous in the lists of Irish legal learning at the time, numbered 33, of whom 31 were in the barony of Middle-third. Of the 17 Stapleton owners, 15 were in Eliogarty; and two were

in Slieveardagh and Middle-third. Of these latter came the noteworthy Professor of Canon Law at Louvain, Dr. Thomas Stapleton (1622-1694), President of the College of Luxemburg, who was elected Rector of that great University, then at its highest point of success and influence, more often than any other personage named in its great roll from 1425 to 1794. His bust, with its fine inscription defining him as FIDARDIENSIS, HIBERNUS, fortunately escaped the vast wreckage wrought by the German forces in the stately collegiate church of St. Pierre. It is one of the three monuments therein set up to the outstanding Rectors of the University during the 350 years and more of its pre-Revolution history. The house of Purcell, Barons of Loughmoe near Templemore, had five proprietors in Eliogarty, five burghers in Catholic Clonmel. Sixteen bore the fine name of Prendergast, chiefly in the broad southern land of Iffa and Offa. The ten Hacketts were nearly all around Cashel, in the Golden Vein ; the ancient house of Tobin (St. Aubyn) were all in Slieveardagh and Compsy, the Killenaule-Mullinahone country ; the Cantwells (9) were scattered over five baronies ; others were Keating (8), White (16), Wall (3), English (7), Mandeville, Sherlock, all in the lands near County Waterford, and the house of Morris (de Marisco) in Eliogarty and Ikerrin.

It was in Ikerrin, despite the presence of the great Butler Castles of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries at Roscrea, that the Tipperary Survey specially records the strong hold on the land maintained down to the Cromwellian confiscations by what is therein expressly termed "the house of O'Meagher." Thirty-eight owners under that name, in that barony, were owners of land : in some typical cases their sharings between themselves and with Butlers will deserve special study. These divisions of defined interests often extended to such fractions as "seven-thirty seconds," the whole unit of land being kept together and not divided save on paper. Eliogarty had 21 owners named O'Fogarty, 7 named O'Cahill. The Gaelic proprietors were relatively few in the baronies of Iffa and Offa, of Slieveardagh, Clanwilliam and Middle-third ; they were O'Kearneys (4), Heffernans (11), Lonergan, Quirke, McTighe. As the Survey advances (clockwise) to the north-west, the Gaelic forces prove very powerful. There were of the O'Ryans 38 in Kilnamanagh, 80 in Arra and Owney, 22 in Upper Ormond ; and five had got a footing in the de Burgo territory east of it, Ileigh. The line of O'Brien numbered 59 owners in Arra, 10 in Upper Ormond ; O'Dwyers held Kilnamanagh to the good number of 33, and had 4 in Clanwilliam. Ormond was the great O'Kennedy country,

61 of the name being seated south of Nenagh and 77 north of it to the Brosna river. Their great Brehons and Historians, the house of MacEgan, seated at Ballymacegan in the north, had provided teaching and learning for over three centuries and sixteen generations to fully a dozen regions, from the O'Connors of Offaly to the MacCarthys of South Munster and the Gaelicised de Burgo people in Galway and Mayo. In 1640 Flann MacEgan still lived at Coillte Ruadh in Ormond: he had given testimony in 1631 and in 1636 to the earlier work of Michael O'Clery and to the newly wrought text of the Annals of the Four Masters. Some 15 of his name held "lands of learning" in Ormond and Ikerrin. The O'Hogan landowners were 23 in Arra and Owny, 18 in Lower Ormond; the O'Mearas numbered 17 in Upper Ormond; the McGrath name was widely spread, with 17 in Arra alone; there were 24 McKeoghs in the same region; the Ormond Baronies had 33 Gleeson proprietors, 10 Birragras, 10 O'Briens; 13 O'Clerys held estates in Lower Ormond; and the lists for the county include, besides, O'Hickey, O'Shea, O'Carey, one (Daniel) O'Connell, two MacRorys, five MacMurroghs, two Slatterys of Pallice, and one O'Davoren from Burren in Clare.

"Submerged" names, one may be well assured, were not few. "Thatched houses" and "cottages," in good numbers, are stated for every barony and territory. They are, of course, entirely outnumbered by the "cabbins," named for almost every townland as "some," "few," "several," "many." For some regions, fortunately, we have precise numbers specified for each townland; and these are obviously representative of the whole county. Thus, in Upper Ormond there were 221 "cabbins" in 44 townlands, while on the plain of Lower Ormond, centring in Knockshegowna, 57 townlands had 290 "cabbins," 104 "houses," and 42 "castles," which last were mostly ruined. Large numbers of "cabbins" are frequently specified for other townlands in other baronies.

The castles and houses will repay exploration on the stricken fields of Irish history and of the European wars. To take one instance, examine the townland of Mobarnan in the parish of Mogorban, barony of Middle-third. There, Teig Carran held, in 1640, "twelve colpe acres, old extent," being 433 Plantation acres "by estimatt": he was "proprietor by descent from his Ancestors." Of this O'Corran, 300 acres are arable; 130 are pasture; three are in "meddow"; the annual value was £30; and "the sd lands hath on it a small Castle wanting repaire, with some Cottages." From that estate and small castle came the

noteworthy Latin historian of the Thirty Years' War, Thomas O'Corran or Carew, on whose fine classical sentences Leopold von Ranke depended so much when he came to tell, in full detail, the "factum Butleri," the momentous events at Eger in Bohemia, when in February, 1634, the career of Wallenstein was ended. O'Corran was a close friend of that Walter Butler of Ballinakill, beside Roscrea in Ikerrin, who then so dangerously served his Imperial master, Ferdinand II, and who from being a Colonel in the Austrian Army was at once made Count of Friedberg and invested with the chain of the Golden Fleece. His brother will be found in the opening pages of this Survey : by 1666-1667, as the late Dr. Thomas Laffan's excellent reprint of the Hearth Tax Rolls makes clear, his nephew, Walter Butler, was reduced to live in a "cabbin" on the hillside where the fine castle still stands firm, while the Cromwellian sergeant-farrier was confirmed in his new ownership of that Butler land.

Not less significant than such entries is the new wealth of old Irish place-names everywhere disclosed. For the eight score Gaelic and Norman jurors stated, to be set down phonetically and in full by the clerks of the Cromwellian Commissioners, not only every territorial name, including subdivisions of townlands, but also the detailed boundaries, for every barony, every parish, every section of a parish, and almost for every estate. The rivers and streams are named in countless instances. Thus the place-names element in the Civil Survey of this typical county far surpasses in richness and accuracy the rather limited series of names set down on the later (1655-1659) rough maps made under Sir William Petty as Surveyor-General. That astute and sparing official sublet his highly-paid task to Cromwellian private soldiers, whom after a short course in surveying he sent out with chain, pencil, and notebook. The Civil Survey, on the contrary, was the recorded testimony of local juries of Gaelic and Norman gentlemen, coming of families resident for centuries on the land itself. Its value for the initiation of new histories of the regions of Ireland will be incomparably great.

T. Corcoran

THE CHURCH OF IRELAND AND THE CELTIC CHURCH

BY JOHN RYAN, S.J., D.LITT.

Lecturer in Early Irish History, University College, Dublin

History of the Church of Ireland. From the Earliest Times to the Present Day. Edited by W. Alison Phillips, Litt.D. Three volumes. Vol. I: The Celtic Church. Oxford University Press. Pp. vi + 437. 31s. 6d. the set.

THE elaborately planned history, of which the work before us is but the first volume, is designed as "an authoritative work to which appeal can be made by those who may be called upon to explain or to defend the Church's position as a national institution deep-rooted in the past history of Ireland." Here, indeed, is a labour so exacting that the learned writers who attempt it deserve sincere sympathy. It takes much explanation to defend as "national" an institution claiming to be such despite the fact that ninety-eight or ninety-nine per cent. of the Irish people, Gael and Norman, refused to join it when it was founded in the sixteenth century; and despite the second no less well-known fact that the proportion has never since grown appreciably, notwithstanding a long monopoly of the professions and the more violent exercise of pressure through the Court of Wards, penal enactments, patronage in its myriad forms, soup-kitchens. As the Scotch planters of the North-East also refused to enter it, the truth is that the Church of Ireland has always been and still continues to be the church of the English colony in Ireland. In all that distinguishes a colonial institution from a national institution it is colonial, not national.

For the same reason the claim that the Church of Ireland is "deep-rooted in the past history of Ireland" must be ignored as fanciful, unless so many distinctions are made that the claim is all but emptied of meaning. It has certainly played a part, great or small according to the fortunes of the colony, since the sixteenth century. But it cannot be the church of Gaelic and Norman Ireland as it existed, let us say, in 1532; for the changes dubbed "reform" are admitted, as is the additional fact that these changes were revolutionary. Between the church as known to the Great Earl of Kildare and the church of the Elizabethan era a deep

abyss became fixed, much as has happened in our own day between Bolshevist and Tsarist Russia. Thanks to the ruthless grinding of the State machine the buildings, property and revenues of the Gaelic and Norman Church passed to the innovators. In the early stages of the conflict some princes and prelates vacillated, failing to grasp the true bearing of the " reforms " contemplated. But once the position became clear, the Irish people, Gael and Norman, rejected the " Reformed " Church of Ireland not only with determination but even with ignominy. They sacrificed, in fact, every material self-interest rather than attach themselves to it.

The theory of the Church of Ireland as " a national institution deep-rooted in the history of Ireland " must thus be rejected. It is not a national institution and those portions of its roots which penetrate into the centuries before the sixteenth derive no particular nourishment from Irish soil. The book before us, reasonably considered, is a history of the Catholic Church in Ireland from its foundation to the end of the seventh century. As such what are its merits ?

Four of the six chapters, and these by far the longest, are written by the Rev. J. L. G. Meissner ; the remaining two by Canon Oulton and Canon Newport White. It must reluctantly be confessed that in every chapter there is much that invites criticism. Canon Oulton's interesting introductory treatise on Gaul raises an important question of historical method : how far is the history of Church origins in Gaul relevant in a history of the Church in Ireland ?

Admitting that Roman Gaul and Roman Britain were on intimate terms ecclesiastically and that St. Patrick's connections as a cleric were with these provinces, it is essential to know the details of Church life—dogma, moral teaching, liturgy and institutions—in them during the period of St. Patrick's formation. Canon Oulton unhappily does not meet this demand. Had he done so, Canon White's chapter on the Teaching of St. Patrick would have been superfluous, to the great advantage of the whole volume. St. Patrick's theology was obviously that of the orthodox Catholic bishop of his day. To derive it almost wholly, as Canon White does, from the " Confession," whose purpose is not theological and in which theological references are comparatively few and always quite incidental, is to mistake the nature of that document ; and the error is necessarily increased when the " Confession " is interpreted in the anti-Catholic spirit of sixteenth century controversy. This chapter is, in fact, a Protestant pamphlet and a caricature of St. Patrick's teaching.

Canon Oulton, haunted by the spectre of Rome, tries manfully to show that Gaul in the early centuries was not as hopelessly Catholic as it would appear to be. He quotes the famous passage from Irenaeus and interprets it as follows: "But inasmuch as it would be a very lengthy matter, in a book such as this, to enumerate the succession of all the churches, we shall refer to the apostolic tradition of that great and ancient and universally known Church, founded and organized at Rome by the two most famous apostles, Peter and Paul, and to the faith declared to mankind and coming down to our day by episcopal succession: *thus we shall put to confusion all those who form irregular assemblies, whether it be through wrongful self-will or vain glory or a blind and evil heart. For unto this Church, on account of its superior eminence, every Church* (*that is, the faithful everywhere*) *must needs resort;* and in it the tradition which comes from the apostles has been always preserved by those who are from everywhere." All that ingenuity can do to minimize the Roman Catholic mentality of St. Irenaeus has been done in this translation, so that it has to be justified in a special excursus. Admitting its substantial accuracy, we should like to direct Canon Oulton's attention to the words here italicised. Does the Church of Ireland "resort to" the Church of the two most famous apostles, Peter and Paul, in Rome? If not, are we not compelled to conclude that it differs in a matter of grave importance from the Church of Gaul as it existed at the end of the second Christian century? In the rest of the chapter Canon Oulton bears witness that the ecclesiastical dependence of Gaul on Rome became ever more marked between the period of St. Irenaeus and the period of St. Hilary of Arles, the contemporary of St. Patrick. Britain and Gaul being so closely united, Britain respected and obeyed Rome, as Gaul did. St. Patrick was a product of the British and Gallic churches, and brought this attitude towards Rome with him when he came to Ireland. If the Church of Ireland rejects it, how then can it claim to represent the Church of St. Patrick?

We come now to Mr. Meissner. A delightful characteristic of this writer as a historian is his boundless enthusiasm. He comes "saliens in montibus et transiliens colles" like an irrepressible schoolboy. He has a hundred questions to put and is never flurried or worried no matter how much he may trip over himself in his anxiety to be up and answering. If the hustle is sometimes too intense, the logic too original, the judgment too amazingly youthful, these are defects for which time may provide a remedy.

Of Mr. Meissner's views about pre-Patrician Christianity one

hesitates to speak with confidence, so difficult is it to know exactly what they are. The chapter is a jungle through which a healthy tiger in search of food might force his way quite easily, but it fills the human wayfarer with feelings of acute distress. There is a thorny, uncharted British region between the Roman Walls, and a cactus covered region inhabited by tribes called Picts, who, it transpires, may not really be Picts at all but Britons. Then there were " Goidelic settlements from Ireland along the Antonine Wall," proved apparently by the fact that " a writer in the Book of Ballymote tells us that in the time of Erimon certain Gaels of Ireland went with the Britons of Fortriu to fight the Saxons " and won swordland for themselves among the Britons. Now in the Irish genealogies Eremon is an ancestor just fifty generations removed from Niall of the Nine Hostages, so that his approximate date would be 1200 B.C. Is it captious to ask that a notice which speaks of Gaels fighting Saxons in Scotland at a date 1200 B.C. should receive some critical investigation before use ?

In the very first page of this chapter Professor MacNeill's important discovery of an earlier stratum of Latin loan words in Irish is completely overlooked. The identification of Ligugé—" Logotigiac "—with Candida Casa is a piece of childish philological trifling. To make matters worse the part played by that monastery in the introduction of Christianity into Ireland is exaggerated and distorted ; whilst the explanation of how organized Christianity in Ireland took on a monastic form is no explanation at all. Tours under St. Martin was an episcopal see, not a monastery, so that if the Candida Casa was modelled on Tours, it too would be a bishopric. The name Ninian is juggled with as if it were a clue in a cross-word puzzle. Twice (pp. 69, 170) the statement is made that " it is a *universal* (italics Mr. Meissner's) rule that ancient Celtic Church foundations always bear the name of their founder." This undoubtedly is a slip, but what a slip ! How could Armagh, Trim, Saiger, Emly, Ardmore, Clonard, Clonmacnois, Clonfert, Iona, Derry, Birr, Aghaboe, Lorrha, Devenish, Glasnevin, Mungret—to mention but a few of the ancient Celtic churches whose founders were well known—have been so utterly forgotten ? On the general question of political and religious conditions in the region between the Roman Walls in Britain the impression is unavoidable that a serious effort was not made to study and assimilate the work of the first-class authorities.

Mr. Meissner's treatment of St. Patrick is full and sympathetic. We receive, of course, a shock or two when he rambles off into

byeways of his own. Where, for instance, is the evidence that "the British synod assembled to elect a bishop for Ireland made choice of Patrick?"

The lack of space forbids any detailed comment on Mr. Meissner's remaining chapters. Only a point here and there can be touched on briefly. On page 126 the expression "libera ecclesia," a church free from civic impositions, is interpreted to mean "a church with unlimited authority"! On page 141 we read: "There is therefore a very considerable mass of evidence which seems to show that the peculiarities of the Irish Church were to a great extent due to the Egyptian and eastern influence acting upon that of the recently Christianized Celtic districts between the Walls, with the monastic church founded by St. Ninian." As a matter of fact there is no evidence worth considering of a direct connection between the early Irish Church and the East. There is evidence of an indirect connection through monasticism, an institution of eastern origin. But monasticism came to Ireland through Gaul and Britain, where it had already become indigenous. The Irish predilection for it, combined with various features of Irish life and culture which had no counterpart abroad, gave the Irish Church its peculiar character. In this development the monastery founded by St. Ninian had a modest part, not the overwhelming part which Mr. Meissner sees fit to assign to it. It was to South Britain or Wales, not to Galloway, that the majority of Irish monastic founders looked for exemplars as well as for inspiration.

Mr. Meissner continues: "How far Candida Casa had progressed in the direction of the Egyptian model will be seen in the fact that early in the sixth century, at the latest, it was already a mixed monastery for men and women." This is sheer nonsense. At no time and in no place throughout Christendom was there a "mixed monastery" for men and women. When Mr. Meissner returns to the subject (p. 174) he says that: "In this respect Celtic monasticism seems to have resembled that of Egypt, where traces are to be found of monasteries in which both sexes lived together." But his reference (*Lausiac History*, chap. 29) shows that he had never read the passage on which the inference is based; otherwise he would have seen that the monastery in question was for women only and that the single male mentioned was an ascetic miraculously "freed from desire" who lived in a cell apart and acted as spiritual director to the nuns. The institution was thus not even a double monastery—much less a "mixed monastery." He continues: "A bishop ceased to govern

a diocese ; he lived in a monastery, as one of its inmates marked out for the highest order of the ministry by reason of his unusual holiness ; he lived in groups of seven and often he lived the life of a solitary." This statement requires much qualification, which should not be omitted in what purports to be a learned work.

The assertion is made (p. 153) that " Armagh at one time, from shortly after St. Patrick's death to the middle of the seventh century, appears to have sunk into comparative insignificance." But this is not quite true, as is clear from the Annals, which record in an unbroken series the names of St. Patrick's successors. Clonmacnois is the only other church that achieved the same distinction. On p. 175 we are told that when the abbot Dagan went to Rome, the meaning is that he went to Roman Britain. Explanations of this kind are merely exasperating. The suggestion is that Dagan, who was a strong supporter of the Celtic Easter, could not possibly have visited Pope Gregory the Great. But Dagan was hardly a more violent advocate of his country's customs than his contemporary St. Columban. Yet the latter has left it on record that one of his life's dearest wishes was to visit Rome and the Pope.

Within the same page is a reference to the deep and wide influence exercised on Ireland by the Roman Empire, even in its later form. In proof of this we have a quotation from Sir Henry Maine " who pointed out that the Brehon Law looks upon the King of Erin, when he holds the ports of Dublin, Waterford and Limerick and is thus said to be without opposition, as (of course in legal fiction) a vassal of the Roman Emperor." There never was any such law in the Brehon code. If a statement of the kind occurs, it can only be the speculation of a jurist writing, at the earliest, in the tenth century, when Limerick and Waterford were founded as Norse ports. In practice the phrase *cen fresabra* was never, whether in the tenth century or later, thus interpreted, the obvious reason being that control of the three ports would mean very little indeed if, let us say, two of the three provinces Connacht, Ulster, the Midlands, lay outside the High-King's authority. Some vague sense of dependence on the Roman Emperor (later the Holy Roman Emperor) as the chief ruler of the Christian world did exist, though its influence on the life of any High-King was negligible. It is absurd to state, as Mr. Meissner does, that Ireland's reverence for Rome was based on admiration for her secular greatness, her " civil administration," whilst " the influence of the Church of Rome in the early history of the Church of Ireland was infinitesimal." " Ireland was left

in the most singular ecclesiastical isolation." Yet when St. Columban went to Gaul in 590 or 591, he found nothing strange in the church of that country save its method of calculating the date of Easter; and his isolation from Rome was so singular that he wrote at once to the Pope asking him to compel the Gauls to accept the correct Irish computation.

On the important question of England's debt to Ireland and Rome, respectively, Mr. Meissner is diffuse rather than convincing. His treatment of our Irish missionaries abroad is also very full, showing that he brought to its composition indefatigable industry. But here as elsewhere order and sound judgment are not conspicuous among Mr. Meissner's gifts. Altogether the book deserves a place rather beside the work of Professor George Stokes than beside the work of the great scholars Todd, Reeves, Gwynn and Bury.

To return, for a brief moment, to the fundamental issue of the Church of Ireland's position. It is not the Church of Gaelic and Norman Ireland as it existed in the centuries before the Reformation. Its strongest supporters can but claim that it is the same "purged of abuses." They suggest that these crept in at some date between the death of St. Patrick and the sixteenth century, and were carefully eliminated by the Reformers, who thus restored the faith of Ireland to its primitive purity. Now what exactly were these abuses?

Prescinding from matters of lesser import, the two on which the Reformers concentrated were the recognition of the Pope's authority and the sacrifice of the Mass. When were these scandalous aberrations from early Irish teaching introduced into the Irish Church?

With regard to the Pope's authority representative historians of the Church of Ireland do not seem to be quite unanimous. There is a lurking suspicion that St. Patrick himself may have been the guilty person. Ussher betrays no difficulty in admitting that his mission was from the Roman Pontiff; and Bury, whose criticism of the Patrician sources is one of the great achievements of modern times, treats St. Patrick's recognition of papal authority as a matter absolutely beyond dispute. Others blame the weak-kneed Irish clergy who "submitted to Rome" in the seventh century. The question then at issue was the date of the Easter celebration. The Irish, like the Romans themselves, had come reluctantly to see that the last word on this subject lay with the ablest mathematicians of the day, the Alexandrians. Let it be said frankly that the exploitation of this Paschal dispute in the

Protestant interest is an insult to historical science ; for the Holy See was but indirectly involved in the whole affair ; Rome was never spoken of save with reverence, whilst its influence was effective in having the newer method of computation accepted at once in half of Ireland and ultimately (after forty or fifty years) in the remaining half.

Others regard Irish churchmen of the twelfth century, above all St Malachy, as villains of the piece. These were responsible for a new system of diocesan organization that brought the country into harmony with the rest of Christendom. The bishops of these new sees, thanks to the increased centralization of papal power in the eleventh century, were much more dependent on Rome than the bishops of the old monastic sees had ever been. Hence the charge that those who fostered these changes betrayed the independence of the country to Rome. Without entering into questions of theology, though they would here be entirely relevant, we may point out to our friends of the Church of Ireland that the abuses reformed were real abuses ; that they were remedied in the only possible way ; that a phrase like " submission to Rome " is misleading, since the change did not involve the acceptance, in principle, of an authority till then, in principle, rejected ; that the relationship of daughter and mother between Ireland and Rome was in no sense humiliating, seeing that the proudest nations in Europe coveted it as an honour. In a word Ireland remained united with, and therefore subject to, the Holy See in every century from the coming of St. Patrick to the Reformation. This " abuse " was thus as old as the Irish Church, and its " remedy " by the severance of relations with the Apostolic See (not to mention the vulgar vilification of that See and its occupants) was not a return to any previous known form, pure or otherwise, of Irish Christianity.

With regard to the Mass the position is similar. Our Irish word *aifreann* means the sacrifice of the Mass, as Catholics understand it. The word goes back to Old Irish, where its spelling alone is slightly different ; nor has there ever been any other term. Either, then, the meaning of the word underwent an essential change at some period or other during the past fifteen centuries or the Mass, as Irish Catholics now understand it, existed in the Irish Church during all these centuries. There is absolutely no evidence of such a change. To maintain, therefore, that the abolition of the Mass was the purging of an abuse which anciently did not exist in the Irish Church is to fly in the face of history.

JOHN RYAN

REVIEWS

Art

HUGH LANE AND HIS PICTURES. By Thomas Bodkin, M.R.I.A., D.Litt. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1934. 8s. 6d. net.

THIS is an *editio minor* of the magnificent work published by the Saorstát Government in an edition printed at Paris in 1932 and limited to four hundred copies. It is sure to be valued by all lovers of good pictures, not only for its brilliant brief sketch of Lane's career and personality and for its masterly presentation of the Irish case in the matter of his disputed bequest, but for the fifty-one excellent plates which follow the text, and which, accompanied as they are by a full descriptive catalogue, constitute a valuable memorial of a collection now, alas! apparently destined to remain part of *Hibernia irredenta.* There could be no neater nor more tasteful revenge on the British authorities who have refused to carry out Lane's certain wishes than this elegant Dublin publication of the pictures still retained in London.

It is curious to note that a collection of modern paintings which has excited more controversy than almost any other should have been made by a man who, as Dr. Bodkin more than once points out, had no great personal taste for the style of art they exemplify. The controversy, though still unsettled, has lasted long enough for at least its earlier phases to be matter for objective historical judgment. Lane's own temperament, which of course was inseparable from his great qualities, his skill, persuasiveness, generosity and public spirit, was undoubtedly in large part responsible for the difficulties that have proved so intractable. Even the most generous donor cannot, if he be reasonable, expect public bodies such as municipal councils to take kindly to ultimatums. The plan for a gallery across the Liffey, which Dr. Bodkin praises, was another unfortunate element in the confusion which led to Dublin's loss. Introduced suddenly into a situation already sufficiently ticklish, it seems to have undoubtedly led Lane to give his conditions of gift a new turn and to have provided the inevitable opposition with a really invincible weapon. Looking back on the history of the dispute as outlined by Dr. Bodkin, it cannot fairly be said that the citizens of Dublin or their representatives come very badly out of it after all. Lane's great generosity met with no small measure of just appreciation, and this book will be sure to establish finally his name among the greatest of Dublin's benefactors.

As regards the present phase of the controversy, the facts are set out for all fair-minded people to assess for themselves. The

English claim to retain the bequest relies ultimately on the very questionable doctrine that nations are not bound by the code which prevails among persons of honour. It is unfortunately a doctrine not unfamiliar to readers of Ireland's past history. Its practice in the past no doubt was the reason why in more plain-spoken days the epithet "bradach" was a fairly regular qualification of the word "Sasanach." This gap between private and public morality has often enough bewildered foreign observers of a nation whose standards of individual honour are as high as any. Trotsky's masterly phrase about "unconscious hypocrisy" rests clearly upon his observation of it. A piquant feature of the whole story is the fact that the first spokesman of the English National Gallery, when the dispute arose about the Lane pictures, happened to be the ex-Viceroy of India who once referred in an official pronouncement to the necessity of "preserving the Taj Mahal for the British people." M. T.

Biography

GERALD FITZGERALD. The Great Earl of Kildare, 1456-1513. By Donough Bryan. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1933. Pp. xxiv + 305. 20s. net.

A SAD interest attaches to this book, for it is the first and last book of the talented and promising young author, Donough Bryan, who died in October 1932, at the early age of twenty-eight, before seeing it through the press. In it Mr. Bryan displays a profound knowledge of the history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a period which, though too much neglected by historians, left deep traces on the ages that followed.

Edward Bruce's invasion ended indeed in military defeat, but it had definitely checked the Norman advance, and recovered large areas for Gaelic culture where the foreigners had hitherto been predominant. The wars against France and the civil wars of England prevented reinforcement of the colony or effective exercise of royal authority, and so the Normans were gradually absorbed by the Gaels.

With the instinct of a true historian Mr. Bryan chose Gerald Fitzgerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, as the central figure round which to group the events of those times. A happier choice could not have been made, for he was the most typical character of that period, and in his history the various influences that welded Norman and Gael into one nation can be seen clearly at work. He, while royal Deputy, admitted a German army into Ireland, had the pretender to the English throne, Lambert

Simnel, crowned at Dublin, sent his own brother with Irish soldiers to support the Germans in their invasion of England, and avoided the penalties of his act by threatening Henry VII's envoy that if the king insisted upon certain demands, he and his supporters would become Irish, every one of them. He is the man of whom the king of England, when told that all Ireland could not rule him, said: "Well then he is meet to rule all Ireland, seeing all Ireland can not rule him."

Many valuable documents concerning the history of the Irish Parliament, such as royal instructions for the holding of Parliament, the legislation passed, etc., which perished in the burning of the Four Courts, had been copied by Mr. Bryan and have now been published for the first time. Some of these laws will be of great use for the history of Poynings' legislation and the rights of the proctors of the clergy to be members of Parliament. Incidentally there is also much useful information on other subjects. We read, for instance, in a record of 1474 of "the great treasure of mines of all manner metals and alums within the same [land of Ireland], with the great commodities of lands and lordships and the great riches and revenues of rivers and havens of the same with the lampresstoun and fishing of the Bann, which revenues employed to the king's use with politic provision, active and martial governance, would amount in short space to the sum of Cml [100,000] marks a year, and so it was of old tyme'"

JOHN MACERLEAN

WINSTON CHURCHILL AND JAMES II. By Malcolm V. Hay. London: Harding and More. 1934. 2s. 6d.

IN a recent book Mr. Winston Churchill, attempting to defend John Churchill's betrayal of King James, denies the authority of the documents quoted by Dicconson in his *Life of James*. Major Hay maintains their authenticity with cogent proofs and points out that Winston Churchill does not even know the name of the author whom he denounces as a forger; for he describes him in one place as Edward Dicconson, a Roman Catholic bishop, and in another as a Jacobite Jesuit scribe, when as a matter of fact his name was William and he was not a bishop, nor a Jesuit (let alone both), for he was not even a cleric. Winston Churchill seems to belong to that school of historians for whom anti-Jesuit prejudice is an all-sufficing argument, for he goes on to say: "I believe that the Jacobite records preserved in the Scots Jesuit College in Paris are the greatest frauds of history." Major Hay's reply is crushing: "There is not, and never has been, any such

institution as the Scots Jesuit College in Paris. No such place exists or has ever existed . . . . since its foundation in 1325 the Scots College, Paris, had always been directed by secular priests. During the greater part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and especially during the period when Mr. Churchill supposes it to have been under the care of the Jesuits, the College was in close touch and sympathy with Jansenists and Gallicans. With this College, or with the papers deposited therein, or with the *Life of James* ' writ by M. Dicconson ' the Jesuits had no connection whatever."

To minimize his ancestor's treachery Winston alleges that James's cruelty to the covenanters of Scotland in 1679-80 had already produced an " unseen rift " in their friendship. Major Hay deals at length with this accusation and cites several contemporary letters hitherto unpublished, which clear James's character. Not only did no one suffer for religion, but even those caught in actual rebellion were spared if they agreed to recognise the royal authority. Sir George Mackenzie, King's Advocate in Scotland at the time, writes : " No man was executed who would say ' God bless the King ' or acknowledge his authority, an unusual clemency, never shown in any other nation."

Most of the English nobles abandoned James at the Revolution : if John Churchill has been singled out by posterity for particular censure, it is because there was something particularly mean about his treachery. " Marlborough," says Major Hay, " did more than abandon his King ; he betrayed his friend ; the friend to whom he owed everything ; his friend who trusted him. This is the capital offence. James trusted Marlborough, and Marlborough deceived him ; played a double game ; betrayed him. This betrayal, not of the King but of a friend, leaves a stain on the name of John Churchill which nothing can wash away ; even though he afterwards became the greatest general in all the world and, as Mr. Winston Churchill admiringly points out, a millionaire." JOHN MACERLEAN

Celtica

GENEALOGICAL TRACTS I. Comprising A—*The Introduction to the Book of Genealogies by Dubhaltach Mac Firbhisigh ;* B—*The Ancient Tract on the Distribution of the Aithechthuatha ;* C—*The Lecan Miscellany* . . . Prepared for publication by Toirdhealbhach Ó Raithbheartaigh, M.A. Dublin : Stationery Office. 1932. Pp. viii + 245. 6s.

THE origin and fate of the *aithech-thuatha* or " tributary peoples " present students of Irish history with problems of major import-

ance and of considerable interest. The Irish Manuscripts Commission are therefore to be congratulated on providing a reliable edition of the miscellaneous texts published under the title *Genealogical Tracts I.*

The first of these texts is described as the "Introduction" to the great genealogical compilation by Dubhaltach Mac Firbhisigh († 1670). In reality, however, it falls into two quite distinct parts, *viz.*: (i) a preface, to which is affixed a short address *Don Óigléughthoir* (pp. 1-32), and (ii) the introduction proper (pp. 33-106). It is perhaps to be regretted that in this edition it has been considered unnecessary to indicate the distinction between them. Concerned as it is with a defence of the traditional genealogical doctrines, the "preface" is a fascinating human document, and one of no little value for that sadly neglected branch of Irish studies, the history of learning and culture in Ireland, for it is typical of the school of thought which produced such works as the *Díonbhrollach* to *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn, Cambrensis Eversus* and the writings of O'Donovan and O'Curry. The introduction proper "is largely designed to supply some account of those elements of the ancient population of Ireland which do not find a place in the accepted genealogical scheme." It deals with the legendary pre-Celtic immigrations and with the distribution of the *aithech-thuatha.* Much of the material is drawn from sources extant in writing in Dubhaltach's time, but now no longer known to exist. Unfortunately the printed text is not entirely free from errors. The last few lines of p. 8 of the MS. have been misread, so that the words *Cir caisleoir Roma, Arond caisleoir Iarúsalem, Oilen* (*vel Cleothair*) *caisleoir Constantinpoil* (p. 16, ll. 1-2) have been misplaced; they should follow immediately after *Bairnib caisleoir Eirico* (p. 15, l. 14). At p. 42, l. 12, for *Fath* read *Tath;* p. 47, l. 2, read *i Lethed Lachtmhaighe;* p. 51, l. 8, for *m. Braimint* (*vel Praimint*), read *m Praimint* (*vel Braimint*).

The second part of the volume (pp. 107-132) is composite in character, and comprises tracts on the distribution of the "tributary peoples," etc., from BB. (where the source is said to be the lost *Book of Glendaloch*), Lecan, the T.C.D. MS. H. 3. 17, and the *Book of Fermoy*, as well as a list of the *aithech-thuatha* extracted from the Laud version of the "Expulsion of the Déssi" (*Ériu* III). The BB. tract includes two distinct lists of the *aithech-thuatha*, the second of which (pp. 114-116) is of particular importance, for the topographical details it supplies reveal political divisions older than those described in the *Book of Rights* and

seemingly later than those reflected in Tírechán's *Breviarium* and the *Vita Tripartita* (*e.g.*, the relative extent of Airghialla and Cenél Eoghain, p. 116, ll. 6-7). It is perhaps likely that an analysis of the language would throw additional light on the date of the original compilation.

The third and final section consists of a collection of miscellaneous genealogical excerpts which form a continuous collection in the *Book of Lecan*, to which have been added two other detached extracts from the same MS., together with one from *Rawlinson B. 502*. Considered as a whole, this "Lecan Miscellany" is a collection from a variety of sources, of odds and ends of historico-genealogical lore which are either not in accord with orthodox teachings or are supplementary to them. There is a close connection between many of these fragments and the list of the "tributary peoples" from the "Expulsion of the Déssi" already noticed.

The practical worth of this important publication is considerably enhanced by an excellent preface from the pen of Professor MacNeill, by the valuable description of the "hands" of the Mac Firbhisigh MS. contributed by Dr. Best, and by an exhaustive index. It is to be hoped that at an early date some competent scholar will submit the texts to the analysis they deserve, for they constitute the most important addition made in recent times to the published sources for the early medieval history of Ireland.

M. V. D.

COMPERT CON CULAINN AND OTHER STORIES. Edited by A. G. Van Hamel. Dublin: Stationery Office. 1933. Pp. 223. 5s.

CAITHREIM CELLAIG. Edited by Kathleen Mulchrone. Stationery Office. 1933. Pp. xix + 55. 2s.

TAIN BO FRAICH. Edited by Mary E. Byrne and Myles Dillon. Stationery Office. 1933. Pp. ix + 50. 2s. 6d.

These three books are Vols. III, IV and V, respectively, in the Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series. They contain texts from the Old, Middle and Early Modern Irish periods. The names of the distinguished Celtic scholars on the title-pages of these books are sufficient guarantee that the work of editing has been carefully done. In the first of these volumes A. G. Van Hamel, Professor of Celtic in the University of Utrecht, has edited four texts concerning Cú Chulainn. Of two of these (*Compert Con Culainn* and *Aided Oenfir Aífe*) critical editions from the best MSS. have already been published. Of the other two (*Tochmarc Emire* and

Aided Con Culainn) Professor Van Hamel here provides a critical edition from the best MSS. The text of *Tochmarc Emire* is based chiefly on the Stowe MS. R.I.A. D.4.2. In correcting Thurneysen's dating of this MS. (p. 17) the editor overlooks Thurneysen's own correction of the error in ZCP. VIII, p. 306. Professor Van Hamel is a painstaking and careful editor. He is scrupulous in providing MSS. readings, and by so doing he disarms to a certain extent those who would criticise his questionable emendations. The wisdom of including in this book an Early Modern Irish text (*Aided Con Culainn*) is certainly open to question. The exhaustive glossary (the value of which would have been greatly enhanced if references had been given) contains a bewildering collection of Old, Middle and Modern Irish forms. The confusion is not greatly lessened by the sporadic indication of Modern Irish forms by the use of an asterisk, nor by the fact that the *h* to mark lenition is frequently omitted. Nevertheless this book will be of much value to the careful student of Irish, though it cannot be said that it is free from errors. In the Glossary leth *side* (neut. s-stem) and leth *half* (neut. o-stem), brug *dwelling* and bruig *land*, and lind g. lendo *liquid* and lind g. linde *pool* are not distinguished; *conici* (p. 109) takes not the nom. but the acc. case; fémdim (p. 176) means not *I fail, refuse*, but *I am unable;* fásaig (p. 179) means rather *inform* than *inquire;* hi suidiu (p. 187) means not *sitting*, but *there;* co léir (p. 194) in Old Irish has the meaning *diligently*, not *completely;* Mor-rigain (p. 199) in Old Irish meant "*the queen of the phantoms*" (the vowel in *mor* was short and the word is cognate with -mare in English *nightmare*, cf. mordrige (mordrech), Thurneysen's *Handbuch* II p. 23). In later Irish the word was understood as being a compound of *mór* great; tócbaim (p. 218) should be analysed *to-oss-gaib*, not *to-od-gaib*, and this applies also to other verbs containing the particle *oss*; *fóemaim* (O.I. *fo-em*) should not be identified with O.I. *ar-foim* (*air-fo-em*). The English, especially in the Glossary, would have benefited by revision.

A few years ago the National Library of Ireland acquired a large collection of Irish MSS. which up to that time had been in private hands in England. The most important of these was a MS. of ten vellum folios (Phillipps MS. 8214), for it was immediately recognised that these folios originally formed portion of the Yellow Book of Lecan. Dr. Mulchrone has now presented us with the first fruits of this interesting find. From this MS. she has edited a fourteenth century version of the text which under the name *Betha Cellaig* was known to us in O'Grady's

edition of LB. version in *Silva Gadelica*. This scholarly edition of the later version will be most welcome, as the story is one of the most artistic literary pieces in the literature. In a very interesting introduction (in Irish) the editor traces briefly the history of the story and studies the inter-relation of the manuscripts. The story has an undoubted historical basis, though it was moulded over a long period in popular tradition before receiving a literary form. Cellach (or Cellán) in the story is wrongly made to be a contemporary of Guaire Aidne and other persons who were prominent in the seventh century. The editor is of opinion that the prose text and the poems were written by the same person. The oldest version (LB.) of this story, as Dr. Mulchrone points out, is older than *Tromdámh Guaire* (Vol. II in this series). The fact that there are two versions of this text, one dating from the twelfth century, the other from the fourteenth, makes it an extremely important one for the study of the linguistic development of Middle Irish. This edition, giving as it does the variant reading from the various MSS, will greatly facilitate such a study.

The fifth volume in this Series is the *Táin Bó Fraích* edited by Mary E. Byrne, who to the great loss of Irish scholarship died before the work was completed, and by Dr. Dillon. This text was edited as long ago as 1870 from LL. by O'Beirne Crowe, and from other MSS. at a later period by Anderson and Meyer. But this book gives us for the first time a critical edition of the LL. text and for the first time too a full text of YBL. together with an exhaustive glossary. As the LL. text has been already published and as the text in facsimile is available, Dr. Dillon in the interest of the learners has supplied accents and has emended this text where possible. This story, like *Caithréim Cellaig*, is one of much literary merit and this excellent edition of it will be welcomed by all. In view of the fact that very divergent views concerning the date of this text have been expressed by Celtic scholars, it is perhaps to be regretted that the present editor did not go more fully into this question. In line 38 of the LL. text druith should, I think, be taken as nom. pl. of drúth *fool*, rather than of druí *druid*.

F. S.

Economics

INTERREGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE. By Bertil Ohlin. Harvard University Press. London: Milford. 1933. 21s.

Professor Ohlin, of Stockholm, who has recently delivered the second Finlay lecture, has laid all students of economics

under a heavy debt by the publication of this epoch-making volume, in which he has applied the mutual interdependence theory of prices to interlocal transactions. The English neo-classical economists, having rejected a theory of value based on cost of production in domestic trade, have continued to explain international trade in terms of comparative cost. Professor Ohlin rightly insists that such a proceeding is illogical, and he sets out to prove, which he completely succeeds in doing, that international trade is but a single variety of interlocal trade and does not require any special theoretical explanation. The principal theme of his book is a discussion on the causes of the localisation of production, which he explains in terms of the scarcity or abundance of the productive factors. Of course the supply of the factors is itself frequently the result of an earlier concentration of production, but this is only an example of the endless chain of cause and effect, the mutual interdependence of economic phenomena, which the Swedish writers so properly emphasize. At any given time the supply of the factors may be taken as fixed, and it is this supply, in conjunction with transport facilities, that determines the optimum location of industries.

International localisation is determined by the same influences as localisation within a nation, the difference between the two cases being the impediments to the international movement of factors and products, the institutional differences between nations, and, above all, the existence of different currencies, which gives rise to exchange problems. The advantage derived from all forms of interlocal trade is that the immobility of the factors is partially overcome by the mobility of their products, and the range of choice of consumers is widened and prices reduced. Of course the factors are not completely immobile, and one of the most important sections of the book is that dealing with international movements of labour and capital. The mechanism of international payments receives very full and novel treatment, insistence being laid on the effect of capital movements on the volume of incomes ; and the manner in which appropriate adjustments to maintain equilibrium are made through price movements is convincingly explained.

Sufficient has been already said to indicate that Professor Ohlin's book is one of primary importance, and cannot be left unread by any serious student. The book is of incalculable value for the economist for the successful manner in which it shows the essential identity of the theory of value in domestic and international exchange. The teaching of the theory of inter-

national trade will for long bear the imprint of Professor Ohlin's striking contribution. G. O'B.

AUSTRALIA: AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION. By G. V. Portus.

THE ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF AUSTRALIA. By H. L. Harris. Sydney: Angus and Robertson. 1933. 3s. 6d. each.

THE study of Australian affairs is full of interest for the economist because Australia has been the *corpus vile* for a great deal of social experimentation from the results of which many useful lessons can be learned. No country has ever consciously pursued for so long a period a policy of isolation from the outside world, and no country has been taught its dependence on international conditions by more bitter experience. The most interesting chapter in the Australian story is that which deals with the recovery from the recent depression and crisis. Economic orthodoxy, spurned for long, was at last invoked and heeded, with the surprising result that the country which had apparently suffered most in the depression showed the most rapid capacity for recuperation. Needless to say the events of recent years have provided the material for a copious output of literature, to which Messrs. Portus and Harris have made somewhat slender contributions. G. O'B.

Education

MAPHEI VEGII DE EDUCATIONE LIBRI I-III. A Critical text prepared by Sister M. W. Fanning, M.A. Studies in Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin, Volume I. Catholic University of America. 1933. Pp. 153.

THE complete Latin text of Vegius' six books on the physical, literary, and moral training of youth was neatly and handily issued for general use by the house of Casterman, Tournai, just four score years ago. It is still generally accessible for students of the earlier Renaissance epoch in education; but there will also be service for this half of the whole treatise, attractively printed from the MSS. sources by a student of the Catholic University of America. Neither the Tournai nor the Washington editions give that special yet uniform and distinctive spelling which marks the transition decades between the Mediaeval MSS. and the Renaissance period, when scholarship reached its definitive command over the use of type, a spelling with which it is well that all workers on the sources of the period should be well

acquainted. On the side of content, Vegius is fully representative of the scholastic Renaissance, when he comes to deal with class-work in all its aspects. It was a really Christian Renaissance, that of the classroom ; and its viewpoints may be studied with profit, whether as to matter or as to method, in this dignified and simple yet attractive format adopted for its new series of Latin textual sources by the Catholic University of America.

T. C.

PRINCIPLES OF JESUIT EDUCATION IN PRACTICE. By Francis P. Donnelly, S.J., Professor of Rhetoric, Fordham University. New York : Kenedy. 1934. Pp. 222. $2.00.

FATHER DONNELLY, a veteran teacher of letters and of style, has the rare gift of being able to add books of definite use for class processes to ampler and more general works on the Art and Science of Letters in Human Life. Written in a most definite and directive style, this practical manual for teachers goes into action within the classroom from its first chapter to its last. It essays, with a goodly measure of success, to show how the permanent way of teaching literature so as to produce speakers and writers was embodied, after fully fifty years of trial and conference all over the chief European lands, in the definitive *Ratio Studiorum*, sanctioned for permanent use in 1598-1599.

That Method of Letters, it is to be borne in mind, was devised for all students, and not only for selected or advanced courses of training. It provided for learners in the art and science of letters from the age of 10-11 years to the age of 15-16 years : it was a five years course of what in American terminology may be described as the Junior High School epoch, or, in Irish equivalents, the course for the first or Intermediate School Certificate. One thing is absolutely certain about it. From 1550 to 1750, and a little beyond these two centuries, it did most emphatically deliver the goods, wholesale delivery too, in some 600 day schools in all the central and western areas of the European mainland. That delivery was effected by the universally obligatory teaching of Latin and of Greek : both were the educational food of the children of the whole people then, and there was no notion that classical studies of full range were for an intellectual or for a social élite. That the methods of this process, no less than its matter or content, are universally valid to-day, as they were in the days of Plato, Aristotle, Quintilian, and of the great age of Renaissance Letters, is Father Donnelly's theme. His

incisive sentences will not only inspire action in the classroom, but give it definite direction. He gets down to real work in his every page. T. C.

History

GOLDEN YEARS ON THE PARAGUAY. By George O'Neill, S.J. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1934. 5s. net.

One of the most stirring chapters in history tells of the deeds of the Conquistadores in the regions opened to the old world by the adventurous genius of Columbus. Within a short space of years their daring spirit had won the greater part of Southern America for the crown of Spain, and soon the ocean between the two hemispheres was crowded with stately galleons laden with rich freight from Zacatecas or Potosi.

Modern romance invests those spacious days with a charm that appeals to most of us who, in our tamer age, are responsive to the glamour exercised on our imaginations by the pictures

> . . . of the black wharves and the slips,
> And the sea tide running free,
> And Spanish sailors with bearded lips,
> And the beauty and mystery of the ships,
> And the magic of the sea.

But there is a darker side which the veil of romance often conceals from us, and this concerns the fortunes of the native races that fell to the lot of the conquering pioneers. The records of the times are not unfrequently hideous in the callousness of the superior races in regard to those they looked upon as their natural inferiors. Current history pronounces a heavy condemnation on the colonial record of Spain in this respect. But the truth is that this condemnation is unjust; for that record, though tarnished in many respects, is yet on the whole one that compares favourably with those of her rivals in the pursuit of wealth and lands over seas.

Spain was a pioneering nation in the sphere of colonial expansion, and she was no less a pioneer in the great work of bringing the Faith to the new world. The motives that guided her rulers were not merely secular, for there can be no doubt that they were inspired by a genuine desire to extend the domain of Christ, and while they looked on themselves as bound to save the souls of their new subjects, they were no less anxious that their temporal interests should be secured. This is evident from the royal ordinances issued to Ovando in 1502, when he was appointed

governor of Spanish America. But the new dominions were far from the sovereign power, and it was not easy to secure strict observance of the royal will. The adventurers were not all paladins; many of those who found themselves in authority were only too eager to enrich themselves, and in the quest for wealth they too often forgot the dictates of humanity and of Christianity. This, of course, is true of all colonial enterprises by whomsoever carried out, either then or in succeeding periods.

The missionaries, who formed an essential part of these expeditions, did much to protect the natives from the rapacity and tyranny of their governors, and it is not too much to say that the mission work connected with Spanish America, both in its special task of spreading the Faith and in upholding the cause of humane treatment of the subject races, is one of the great glories of Catholic missionary history.

Fr. George O'Neill's book deals with one example, in many respects the most noteworthy, of this great missionary work. His subject is the famous Jesuit Missions in Paraguay, where not only a vast region was won to Catholicity, but also a most remarkable experiment in civilisation was undertaken and carried to a degree of success almost incredible, given the difficulties of every kind with which the missionaries had to contend. It is well that a writer of Fr. O'Neill's competence should have told in English the history of this great enterprise of religion and humanity. English accounts are few in number, and even when they are written in a spirit of sympathy, they leave a good deal to be desired, because their writers, viewing their subject from the outside and from the merely secular side, cannot fully grasp the secret of the spirit which enabled those heroic workers in the cause of the Catholic Faith to accomplish so stupendous a task in the short space of less than two centuries.

Fr. O'Neill has had the advantage of studying all the literature, both contemporary and that which has since been written, on the subject of the Reductions. Moreover he is a Jesuit, and he is able to understand as no outsider can the motives that enabled his brethren to endure and to accomplish in their heroic enterprise. He examines the work from every side, and is able to refute the charges that were made against it in the past by those interested in bringing about its destruction. Many of those charges are still to be met with in books by writers who would profess to be impartial. It is well that they should be disposed of so satisfactorily as Fr. O'Neill has here disposed of them.

The purely secular side of the Jesuit work in Paraguay is well

worth consideration in this era of social reconstruction. The task the Jesuits set themselves was one that most of our social architects would shrink from undertaking, as one impossible to be carried out. The subjects of it were perhaps as unpromising material for such an experiment as one can well conceive. Yet in a short space of time the genius of the Jesuits had won to a comparatively high level of civilisation the intractable races with whom they had to deal. Their work was not confined to the material side of civilisation, for they accomplished much also on the cultural side, and when their work was brought to an untimely close the natives were in a fair way to permanent redemption from barbarism.

The region which was the scene of this noble endeavour is to-day full of ruins that testify to what these great benefactors of humanity dreamt and wrought—ruins which, half buried in the festering tropical vegetation, are memorials at once to the genius which was able to call a human Paradise into being and to man's folly which was able to bring about its destruction.

Fr. O'Neill's work has obviously been to him a labour of love : his readers—and they should be many—will be grateful to him for a book that is at once good history and a true romance.

W. J. W.

A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH. Book I : The World in Which the Church was Founded. By Philip Hughes. London : Sheed and Ward. 1934. 10s. 6d. net.

THE WORLD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By T. R. Glover. Cambridge University Press. 1931. 6s. net.

CHRIST IN THE ANCIENT WORLD. By T. R. Glover. Cambridge University Press. 1929. 5s. net.

THERE has always been a grave need for a manual of Church History, of a serious scholarly standard, in the English language. Translations of continental works, such as the well-known one by Funk, while they have their advantages, do not altogether meet this need. The task of producing such a manual is indeed a formidable one. There are so many aspects of the Church's life—doctrinal, devotional, ascetic, juridical, institutional, socio-political—that it would be too much to expect to find them all treated inside one cover. Among the numerous services rendered to Catholics by Messrs. Sheed and Ward, there is none for which they deserve more gratitude than their effort to supply a series of works covering such subjects as these. They have already given us, under the capable editorship of Father D'Arcy, an

admirable version of that useful French manual, *Christus*, in which a number of writers deal with the life of the Church in the different ages of its history. The present volume is a very successful effort to present the early Church in its historical background : Hellenistic civilisation and the Roman Empire, down to its transformation under Justinian's successors.

This is, of course, a subject already treated with great fullness by a whole legion of historians from Gibbon down. Father Hughes makes no claim to originality of treatment or to the possession of new ideas. His originality is confined to one most valuable feature of his work. With the exception of the standard historical manuals of Rostovtzeff and De Burgh, all his authorities are either the sources themselves, studied in the collections of Kirch and de Journel, or else the works of modern Catholic scholars. His book thus has the welcome advantage of enabling Catholics to see for themselves how much their co-religionists have accomplished in this difficult sphere. The names of Duchesne, Batiffol, de Grandmaison, Tixeront, Lebreton, Allard are in the front rank of scholarship, and their specialised studies are supplemented by the authoritative articles in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

Father Hughes treats of the Church as an institution founded in the world and developing with the development of history. A very large part of his space is thus naturally devoted to the great heresies of the fourth and later centuries, whose seriousness, he does not fail to emphasise, was in part the consequence of the Church's relations with the Empire. His description of the pagan *milieu* in which the Church was founded is as good, for the space at his disposal, as anything we have read. In dealing with the great Saints of the period it is natural that he should have most to say of the Eastern theologians and of those whose influence on historical development was paramount. In particular he does full justice to the gigantic figure of St. Ambrose, while, curiously enough, passing rapidly over Augustine and Jerome. The student and the general reader alike will find his work a source of permanent profit, the more so as it is written in a style and with a command of his enormous material which we can only describe as masterly. We hope his two succeeding volumes, in which he promises to bring his work down to the present day, will soon make their appearance.

Dr. T. R. Glover is a distinguished scholar who adds to encyclopaedic learning the gift of a charming style. In one of these little works he quotes a saying of Novalis : "*philosophieren*

heisst dephlegmatisieren, vivificieren." The words, easily intelligible, if ugly, are applied by Dr. Glover to the effect of Christianity in its impact on the slowly deadening sensibilities of the ancient world. They may very well be applied to scholarship of Dr. Glover's type. In both these little books his object is the same. It is to show by a series of detailed illustrations the way of life and thought, the undertones and overtones, so to speak, of the long tradition into which Christianity came as a new force. He has all the resources of the ripest classical scholarship at his disposal, as well as a wide acquaintance with modern literature—his work, like *Hamlet*, is full of quotations. Now and again in reading him we are of course aware that his conception of Christianity is not our own ; but this does not affect the value of his books, which give in brief and eminently readable form an excellent and sensitive review of the paganism that Christianity superseded. M. T.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE MEDIEVAL PAPACY. By L. Elliott Binns, D.D., F.R.Hist.S. London : Methuen. 1934. 16s.

Four years ago Dr. Elliott Binns produced a short biography of Pope Innocent III for Messrs. Methuen's series of *Great Medieval Churchmen*. He was then planning a more ambitious undertaking : no less than a full-scale *History of the Papacy from the Concordat of Worms to the Great Schism*. The present volume, so the author tells us in his Introduction, is not to be taken as the fulfilment of that undertaking. Indeed we suspect that Dr. Binns has come to realise, in the course of further reading, that his subject would require almost indefinite expansion (for who could write a history of the Medieval Papacy without Hildebrand ?) and was perhaps more than he himself could master. This volume is most likely to interest a Catholic reader as the frank acknowledgment, by a writer whose Protestant instincts are everywhere apparent, that there is a great deal more to be said for the Medieval Papacy than he had first thought.

Dr. Binns has spared no pains to make his reading wide and varied. His own library at Great Hallingbury Rectory is apparently of unusual size, and includes (so he is careful to tell us) such comparatively rare texts as Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* and Mabillon's St. Bernard. But it is one thing to have read widely, and another thing to understand the inner life of an institution that was unquestionably very much alive in the Middle Ages, and is still (though Dr. Binns finds this harder

to believe) very much alive to-day. Dr. Binns has come to the Middle Ages through Gibbon, as his choice of a title makes plain and as he himself openly confesses. Now Gibbon was congenitally unable to understand a Catholic background ; and it has cost Dr. Binns years of patient reading to overcome the more obvious of his initial prejudices. As a result, his book makes dull reading ; for the scale on which he has planned it makes it impossible for him to do more than set down a few obvious truths about a long succession of Popes and Kings and Emperors who were once more misunderstood than they are to-day. It is all so much gained, no doubt, in the slow process of eliminating old-fashioned Protestant theories of history. But Dr. Binns takes himself a trifle too seriously ; and most Catholic readers will find his book somewhat tedious in his painstaking efforts to be fair towards men and ideas which he has slowly come to understand in part, but not yet in full. His book begins with the pontificate of Innocent III (which he has already treated more fully in his earlier volume), and then works down, slowly and conscientiously, to the Renaissance and the " Teutonic Revolt " of Luther and his followers. It ends with the Sack of Rome. The author's learning and industry are most apparent in the chapters on the Conciliar movement and the Humanist movement in Northern Europe. A. G.

THE JESUITS AND THE POPISH PLOT. By Malcolm V. Hay. London : Kegan Paul. 1934. Pp. xii + 120. 10s. 6d. net.

THOUGH the falsity of the charges brought forward by Titus Oates and Israel Tonge against Catholics, and Jesuits in particular, is admitted by all reputable historians, there are doubtlessly many people who, influenced by the mass of anti-Jesuit pamphlets that issued from the press in 1678 and succeeding years, suspect there must have been some foundation for the accusation, though it has never been discovered. In the present masterly work Major Hay examines the problem in great detail but from a new angle, and reviews the whole history of the pretended plot in the light of many unpublished documents.

He begins by administering a deserved castigation to Mr. John Pollock, a modern writer, who, being unable to discover any proof of Jesuit complicity, goes out of his way to bring forward a charge of immorality against Father John Gavan, one of the five Jesuit martyrs (executed 20 June, 1679) on the strength of a passage in a French spy's report. Major Hay's comment is

worth quoting : " This is the only case, as far as I know, where an English historian of repute, writing a history of the seventeenth century, has brought forward a definite accusation of a serious offence against an individual Jesuit, and has at the same time supported the charge with a reference to contemporary documents. . . . No references to the alleged immoralities of Father Gavan are to be found in any records of the period. . . . The accusation appears for the first time in Mr. Pollock's own book. It is false ; anyone who brought such a charge to-day, on such faked evidence, against a living Jesuit, would be prosecuted for defamatory libel and sent to prison. . . . In the spy's report, which he cites against the Jesuit, there is no ambiguity, no uncertainty about the meaning. . . . The descriptions given in the original French text of the report are unmistakable, and the English translation, made for the Secretary of State, is equally clear, and was clearly understood at the time. . . . His [Pollock's] misinterpretation of the texts, ruling out, of course, deliberate deception, can be accounted for only in two ways : either he does not understand French or his intellectual faculties suffer from some peculiar derangement whenever he has to write about Jesuits."

The central point from which Major Hay studies the story of the plot is the disunion existing among Catholics after the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. Some of the causes of these domestic dissensions were of long standing, others were deliberately created by Hyde and Ormonde to preserve the Cromwellian Protestant settlement and prevent toleration of the Catholic religion. With regard to Ireland, Ormonde himself confesses that he employed Peter Walshe and his so-called Remonstrance, which included statements no Catholic could accept, in order to divide Irish Catholics. Hyde played the same game in England. The Jesuits were the most numerous body of regulars in England ; there were 150 of them working as missionaries there at that time, and they were highly esteemed by many of the nobility and of the secular clergy. To the projected Catholic Relief Bill of 1661 a clause was added granting toleration only on the condition that all Jesuits should be expelled from the kingdom. The Catholics were immediately split into two factions, and Hyde succeeded in his project of shelving the proposed toleration. According to Major Hay " the honour of suggesting that the Jesuits should be excluded from the bill of 1661 may perhaps most equitably be divided between Peter Walshe and Dr. Henry Holden." Thomas White *alias* Blacklow, late secretary of the English Chapter,

whose books were placed on the Index by the Roman Inquisition that year, and John Sergeant, his successor, were also, according to Burnet, advocates of the banishment of the Jesuits.

Another cause of disunion was the question of appointing a bishop for England. It is alleged against the English Jesuits that they were responsible for Rome's refusal to appoint a bishop after the Restoration. The charge is a commonplace among writers of the school of Sergeant, Dodd, Tierney, Taunton, etc. Having examined the evidence Major Hay concludes "that effective ecclesiastical opposition to the appointment of a bishop came from the English Chapter and from no other source." The English Chapter, he argues, were primarily, if not exclusively, responsible ; for they might have had a Vicar Apostolic, as they had to take one a quarter of a century later, but they would have nothing but a full bishop, and that upon terms which they knew Rome would never accept. The bishops they wanted were to be such as described by one of their leaders, Dr. Henry Holden, in his Instructions—*viz.*, bishops "not bound to obey or receive any spiritual commands from the Pope of what nature soever, if either contrary to the customs or canons of the Church, or prejudicial to the temporal laws and government of the State, whereof the State itself is to be judge. It is true these Ordinaries must acknowledge the Pope as first bishop and head of the Church, but not receive any of his commands without leave of the State."

Cardinal Manning's views on this question are then examined. In a strongly worded statement, suppressed by Purcell, his first biographer (1895), but published by Shane Leslie in his *Henry Edward Manning* (1921), the Cardinal declared that he had been forced by a study of unpublished documents to change the favourable opinion he had hitherto had of the Jesuits, and that he had now come to the conclusion that but for the Jesuits the Catholic religion might have been saved in England. The tone of the statement is harsh and violent, and as Major Hay says neatly "suggests determination rather than certitude." But what were the unpublished sources to which the Cardinal appealed to justify his change of opinion ? Major Hay finds that there are two abusive pamphlets written anonymously by Hugh Tootell *alias* Charles Dodd in 1713, and that these pamphlets merely re-echo the story of those transactions as told by John Sergeant. "It is surprising," he says, "to find Cardinal Manning, so much of an ultramontane, accepting without suspicion the traditional view of the English Gallicans that the action or inaction of the Holy See in this affair of the bishops was dictated for over fifty

years by Jesuits whispering into the receptive ears of Cardinals a story, if it were true, as discreditable to the Papacy as to the Jesuit Order. A broader survey of the documentary evidence than Dodd and his friends were able or willing to make, will suggest that it was not altogether by unworthy instruments, or with inefficient machinery, that Holy Church was governed in the seventeenth century."

The greater part of Major Hay's book is taken up with the career of John Sergeant, a convert, who succeeded Thomas White as Secretary of the English Chapter. He obtained a considerable reputation by his controversial writings. When Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, was banished the kingdom by Parliament in 1673, Sergeant left England ostensibly as an exile for the Faith. Talbot met him in Paris and befriended him, but some time after attacked his writings as subversive of the Catholic doctrine of the act of faith. The controversy that followed was bitter and personal. From the theological point of view Talbot was undoubtedly right, but at the special request of James, Duke of York, Rome postponed a final decision in order not to aggravate the dissensions among English Catholics. The war of books, however, went on. Talbot who had got leave to return to England was stopping with Mr. Poole of Poole Hall, Cheshire, engaged in writing a reply to Sergeant's latest book, when Mr. Poole received a letter from Sergeant threatening Talbot if he did not desist from writing. This letter dated, Paris, 12 May, 1678, says :— "We are three here out of his [Talbot's] reach and have letters written in his own hand to a prime jesuit in France, which contain treason against His Majesty and the State of England. We three are sworn to give our faith to one another to prosecute that make-hate [Talbot], neither shall he know by whom he is hurt. The meekness of Mr. Sergeant gave reason to that man's boldness ; but these letters, coming into our hands by a stratagem, we will not spare him if he will be troublesome. If he will be quiet he will be safe."

A week after the date of that letter Sergeant was in London. Three months later Archbishop Talbot's book was published and Titus Oates began his revelation of the treasonable plots against the king, in which leading rôles were assigned to Talbot and the Jesuits. A violent persecution broke out ; all Catholic priests had to hide or fly the country, but John Sergeant walked the streets of London free, and even published with the connivance of Shaftesbury an attack upon the Society. The dying speeches of the five Jesuit martyrs produced a profound impression on

men's minds and threatened to shake the credit of the plot. To prevent this John Sergeant appeared before the Privy Council six months after their death and gave evidence tending to blacken the character of Father John Gavan. Shaftesbury rewarded him with a pension. By a happy chance the volume containing the payments made from the secret service fund for the years 1678 to 1688 has been preserved. From it we learn that the moneys paid to Sergeant and another priest-witness, David Morris, exceeded in value the sums paid to Titus Oates and Israel Tonge. This indicates the importance of the part he must have played in the working up of the plot and justifies the contemporary report that Sergeant laid the egg that Titus Oates hatched.

These observations will give the reader an idea of the wealth of information to be found in Major Hay's book. It is a work that is bound to revolutionize the judgment of historians. Culprits who have hitherto escaped detection must now bear their share of the blame. Protestant fanatics were not exclusively responsible for all that awful shedding of innocent blood ; false brethren were equally guilty, if not indeed more so. All doubts have not been solved, all obscurities have not yet been cleared up ; but Major Hay's investigations have given a new orientation to the story of the Plot and no historian will in future be able to ignore his revelations and conclusions. In spite of the intricacy of the subject the book is easy to read, for the author has an easy and pleasing style. He has besides the useful gift of seizing as if by instinct the essential facts of a document, and as he never forces the meaning of a text and is always content with the minimum deduction from evidence, he wins invariably the reader's confidence and almost always his assent. JOHN MACERLEAN

Mysticism

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS. Translated from the critical edition of P. Silverio de Santa Teresa, C.D., and edited by Professor E. Allison Peers. Vol. I : The Ascent of Mount Carmel and the Dark Night of the Soul. Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1934. 15s.

THE MYSTICAL DOCTRINE OF ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS. An abridgement of his works. Sheed & Ward. 1934. 5s. net.

THE need for a new English translation of the works of St. John of the Cross has long been felt and expressed. Professor Peers tells us that when he came, some eight or ten years ago, to compare his own renderings of passages from the Saint's writings with those

in the existing translations, he found that sometimes they were hardly recognisable as versions of the same original. But a new translation had to wait upon an authoritative text of the Spanish original. Very little of value had been done in this direction until the beginning of the present century, when P. Gerardo produced his critical edition (Toledo 1912-14). This was the starting-point for further researches, culminating in the splendid edition brought out by P. Silverio (Burgos 1929-31), which is the basis of the present translation.

The uncertainty about text and translation has caused a certain amount of uneasiness among readers as to whether they were getting the real doctrine of the Saint or only a medicated version of it. The early editors certainly did treat the text with a great deal of freedom, omitting and interpolating in a way that scandalises the modern student ; and the translators, including the excellent David Lewis, did not tie themselves too closely to the letter of the original, such as they found it. One of the merits of P. Silverio's text and Professor Peers's translation is to make it clear that as far as the ordinary reader is concerned, I mean the reader whose interest is purely devotional, these fears are baseless. One has only to compare the present translation with that of Lewis to see that, in spite of a vast number of differences of detail, they speak with the same voice. It is an immense advantage to have the very words of St. John of the Cross ; but it is consoling to readers of the older translation who cannot afford the price of these volumes, to know definitely that they have the substance of his teaching.

A very valuable feature of this edition is P. Silverio's general introduction, in which a number of interesting questions about St. John's doctrine are treated. In particular, the relation of his teaching to that of St. Teresa is briefly but adequately dealt with. To anyone approaching them from a purely intellectual standpoint the two are poles apart ; to realise the harmony between them it is necessary to have something of their spirit, and it is almost necessary to know something of the environment in which their holiness matured. For this reason the testimony of the Discalced Carmelite Order, which has treasured all the memories of their time, is particularly valuable, and it is crystallised in these pages.

" C. H." has attempted with notable success the delicate task of making a compendium of the teaching of St. John of the Cross in the Saint's own words. The unknown compiler's inconspicuous but all-important part in the work has been to choose the passages which present the pith of Saint John's doctrine, as far as any

abridgement can do so, and to supply the excellent and illuminative headings which guide the reader along his difficult path. The translation used is that of David Lewis, with a few modifications from Fr. Benedict Zimmermann's very competent hand. Fr. Steuart, S.J. contributes a helpful and illuminating introduction. The little work should help many, even among those who have already a certain familiarity with St. John's writings, to grasp his teaching as a whole. M. F. E.

LE CARDINAL DE BERULLE. Maître de vie spirituelle. By Claude Taveau. Paris : Desclée De Brouwer. 1933. 15 fr.
ANTHOLOGIE MYSTIQUE. Avec une introduction de l'auteur. By Paul de Jaegher, S.J. Desclée De Brouwer. 1933. 12 fr.

READERS of Bremond's great work on the history of French spirituality are familiar with the great part Bérulle played in the revival of religion in France. He was one of the great figures in the French counter-reformation—great organiser, reformer and spiritual guide. Bremond gives him a quite extraordinary importance as a spiritual leader, and nowhere throughout his monumental work does he display his critical aptitude in the selection of quotations better than in those pages he devotes to his study of the system of the great Oratorian. Most of Bérulle's spiritual writings are scattered in dusty and inaccessible tomes, and his literary memory and reputation owe much to Henri Bremond. Now in the Oratorian Father Taveau's book we have Bérulle's system set out in a complete and attractive form, useful alike for spiritual reading and for the historian who desires to study a great system of spirituality which has profoundly influenced French religious thought and practice. Father Taveau enables us to do this with all security, for he gives us Bérulle as his brethren of the Oratory understood and exemplified his teaching. This is a work of which we ought to have a translation.

The *Anthologie Mystique* of Father de Jaegher will serve two useful purposes : to provide excellent and varied spiritual reading and also to enable the reader to sample characteristic passages from the writings of the great and lesser mystics from Hadewych in the XII century to Gemma Galgani in the XIX century. Ample extracts are given from the writings of some twenty mystics, and the book forms quite a remarkable anthology ; and as far as one can judge, the choice is excellent. That is the trouble in constructing any anthology, no two experts will agree on the choice of passages.

Father de Jaegher's introduction " *Pourquoi et comment nous*

devons lire les mystiques" is a really remarkable essay, both in style and matter. It is one of the best, if not the best, attempts I have read to deal with the fundamental crux of mystical experience, its "agnostic" character. It is a valiant attempt to link up "obscure contemplation" with our ordinary process of thought. It is simply brilliant, and leads us to hope for something further which will reveal the mystical theologian. Unless I am greatly mistaken, Father de Jaegher has something yet to say about the nature of mystical experience which some of us are very anxious to hear. JOHN HOWLEY

Political and Social Science

DU REGIME TEMPOREL ET DE LA LIBERTE. Par Jacques Maritain. Desclée De Brouwer. 1934. 12 fr.

FRAGMENTS DE SOCIOLOGIE CHRETIENNE. Par Tristan D'Athayde. Desclée De Brouwer. 1934. 10 fr.

PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIETY. Papers read at the Ninth Annual Meeting. American Catholic Philosophical Association. Edited by Charles A. Hart. Philadelphia : Dolphin Press.

IT is not surprising that, during a period of political change and readjustment, attention should be directed to Catholic social theory. M. Maritain has the rare gift of tracing back social movements to their philosophical roots. He is never satisfied with the mere surface aspect of things, and this is one reason, among others, why his books are so profoundly suggestive.

The present work consists of three themes or problems, the connection between which is not so much logical as practical. He begins with "A Philosophy of Liberty." That liberty in some sense is the end of the social and political process has been asserted by Kant. The opposition of the world of *nature* and the realm of *liberty* is central in his philosophy. The contrast between them is so emphasised by Kant that he fails to bring them together into a satisfactory synthesis. Hegel desired to reconcile this Kantian disjunction, but he merely identifies and confuses the two. M. Maritain finds in the philosophy of St. Thomas a theory in which these two orders, while closely linked, remain nevertheless clearly distinct. Moreover the problem of liberty as a social and political value can only be satisfactorily solved on the basis of a correct and adequate metaphysical theory of what liberty is and how it reaches its philosophical completion.

There is an initial liberty—*liberum arbitrium*—the liberty of choice, as we may call it, a process in its nature incomplete, but

leading by an inevitable dynamism to a terminal or final liberty, which M. Maritain calls the liberty of exultation or liberty of autonomy. This, of course, is a well-known scholastic theory, and M. Maritain gives an admirable account of its development by St. Thomas. The liberty of the blessed, confirmed in glory, is liberty in its highest reach and development. It is impossible, in a brief review, to follow the closely-knit argument of M. Maritain. It is a delightful example of his powers of exposition, and its application to political theory is of great interest and importance. It is fatal to confuse liberty of choice with that liberty of autonomy which is wisdom. To put before man as an ideal that which is merely human is, as Aristotle said, to misunderstand man. Choice, independently of what is chosen, cannot be a reasonable end nor the supreme liberty. Surely one chooses to satisfy choice and that one may not have to choose further. The purpose of life cannot be merely one thing after another. If mere choice were in itself a supreme good, one must refuse to select any end which would limit the range of future possible choice.

This type of political philosophy is involved in an unconscious hypocrisy. It overlooks all the severe limitations and constraint to which the real man is subjected in view of the supposed freedom of any abstract man who has no existence. Complete freedom of choice for everyone is anarchy ; freedom for a selected group may be extreme tyranny. The Kantian form of the theory is a juridical fiction, the Hegelian is imperialism or autocracy. Of course a wide range of choice may be desirable, since, if freedom is limited by political and social institutions, men may be prevented from selecting ends that are valuable. But this is to admit that there is something deeper and more ultimate than choice itself.

In the final section of the book Mr. Maritain attacks a problem of supreme interest—the limitation in the choice of means to political ends apparently imposed upon Catholics by the Christian system—" De la purification des moyens." Many ardent spirits have felt this limitation. The immediate end seems so important, the means lawful for a Christian so inadequate. This is a fatal error. " L'esprit n'est pas condamné à la faiblesse dans le temps, l'âme chrétienne n'est pas enfermée dans une perplexité irremédiable, le conflit entre les exigences de son éthique et celles de la réussite temporelle n'est qu'un conflit apparent parce que de soi les moyens d'édification importent plus en realité pour les enfantements de l' histoire que les moyens de guerre."

The two remaining works give an outline of Catholic teaching in social theory and politics. The American book inevitably lacks unity and is at times perhaps a little vague and sketchy. Its language is occasionally picturesque, as when we are told of a theory that it was "down-thumbed by Croce," occasionally obscure, as when it is said that "saint as he was, Aquinas could tolerate the alleged suggestion of materialism in democracy at which the idealistic school of modern Italian thinkers welch." A more serious matter is the suggestion contained in two of the lectures that "the right of [private] property is not an absolute right" according to St. Thomas.

"St. Thomas regards the right of private ownership as perfectly legitimate, but he does not view it as a fundamental right; he traces it to a human institution. This institution has justified itself by the benefits it has conferred on the human race; but should conditions change to such a degree that, instead of meeting human needs, it should prove detrimental, or should a better method of providing for those needs be found practical, there is nothing in St. Thomas's teaching to forbid a reconsideration of the validity, or at any rate of the modalities of this right" (p. 133).

Even if this were a correct interpretation of the theory of St. Thomas, it obviously would not be possible for any Catholic to hold it now in view of the teaching of the papal encyclicals. It rests, however, upon a complete misundertsanding of what St. Thomas really means. His theory, in fact, is very technical and is best understood by reference to its sources in the Roman lawyers and St. Isidore of Seville. The distinction of property, St. Thomas tells us, is not according to *jus naturale*, but is based upon *jus positivum*; to be precise, on the so-called *jus gentium*. To conclude that, therefore, it is not fundamental or absolute is entirely erroneous. The Civilians had based two institutions, both of them natural, as they supposed, on the *jus gentium*—private property and slavery. Both of these are human institutions based on reason and not existing among animals. Now technically the *jus naturale*, as St. Isidore points out, extends only to those fundamental relations which are common to men and animals—*e.g.*, the relation between male and female. Property springs from and is rooted in reason, not at all in the sense that it is something which reason *invents*, but rather in the sense that it is something which reason inevitably *discovers*. The *jus gentium*, for medieval thinkers, belongs technically to *jus positivum;* but it consists of those fundamental and necessary conclusions which reason deduces from the law of nature. It is,

therefore, fundamentally rooted in nature. Modern thinkers are so apt to regard positive right or positive law as arbitrary, as based on human will, that the real meaning of the *jus gentium* for medieval thinkers quite escapes them. D. O'K.

ASPECTS OF THE RISE OF ECONOMIC INDIVIDUALISM. By H. M. Robertson. Cambridge University Press. 1933. Pp. xvi + 223. 10s. 6d. net.

THE ECONOMIC MORALS OF THE JESUITS. An Answer to Dr. Robertson. By J. Brodrick, S.J. Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. 158. 5s. net.

THE first of these books is so fully reviewed by the second that there is little left for anyone else to say. They should be read together, for Dr. Robertson's book has small value until its t's have been crossed and its i's dotted by Fr. Brodrick. But after Oxford has finished this piquant task of tidying up Cambridge history, this first of the *Cambridge Studies in Economic History* acquires a certain interest of its own. Dr. Robertson's purpose is to disprove Max Weber's theory that the " spirit of capitalism " is largely the outcome of the philosophy and ethics of the Protestant Reformation, especially in its Puritan and Calvinistic forms. From the first page to the last a confusion of thought and expression deprives the book of all true scientific value, while the author's amazing neglect or ignorance of the literature of his subject and his want of judgment in estimating the worth of those sources he does draw upon speak badly for the standard of scholarship tolerated in research students in Cambridge. Fr. Brodrick devotes one hundred and fifty pages to pointing out what he charitably calls " some unintentional but very grave misrepresentations " made by Dr. Robertson concerning the teaching of Jesuit writers, whom he seems either never to have read or else culpably neglected to understand or have explained to him by his professors. For what little knowledge he has of Jesuit moral teachings Dr. Robertson appears to rely exclusively on two violently prejudiced and inaccurate accounts published by the enemies of the Jesuits in France in the middle of the seventeenth century. Is this what is called " history " in Cambridge ? Shade of Acton ! But leaving out the Jesuits, Dr. Robertson does not appear to have heard of such works as Kraus's *Scholastik, Puritanismus und Kapitalismus,* one of the best monographs on his subject, or Schreiber's *Die Volks-wirtschaftlichen Anschauungen der Scholastik ;* and writing some fifty pages on Usury, he neither grasps what the word " usury " meant and

means to Catholic moralists nor ever mentions Funk, Zech, Zehentbauer or Knoll, any of whom would have saved him from his grosser blunders. Indeed, as he confesses in his Preface, " there are some gaps in my bibliography."

As Dr. Robertson admits in a footnote (p. xv), " economic individualism " is by no means the same thing as " the spirit of capitalism," but only one of its more evil elements. Nor is " the spirit of capitalism " the same thing as " capitalism " *tout court.* Weber clearly saw these important distinctions. His claim was that the whole philosophical and ethical outlook of Protestantism must and did lead logically and inevitably to individualism in the economic sphere, just as it had its origin in individualism in the religious sphere. The rejection of authority in matters of faith and morals, the denial of the value of tradition, the emphasis laid on private judgment, and the supremacy of the individual obviously created an atmosphere in which economic individualisms would grow rankly. For what is economic individualism but the belief that the individual's judgment of what is profitable for himself is the one criterion and the individual's desire of his own material gain the one requisite and sufficient motive of economic activity ? Dr. Robertson is making too great demands on his readers' credulity in suggesting that Protestantism as a philosophical whole did not favour this belief or that Catholicism or any reputable Catholic writers did favour it. The idea that Catholic writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries should suddenly, without protest by the Church, start teaching the diametrically opposite doctrine concerning the purpose of all social life and action to that taught for centuries by their predecessors is nothing less than absurd. It is perfectly true that Catholic moralists, Jesuits as well as others, devoted much time and pains to investigating the morality of certain commercial and economic transactions of the capitalistic system. In other words they tried to draw clear boundary lines between what was morally good and what was morally bad—a very laudable work. They did not, however, teach that the guiding principle of economic activity or its final purpose should be individual gain. Implicitly at least, Protestantism did and does.

But we can afford to be grateful to Dr. Robertson for this at all events, that his book called forth Fr. Brodrick's reply. " I know of no modern book," writes Fr. Brodrick, " where they [the Jesuits] are made to appear in blacker colours than in *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism.*" In six chapters of well-documented, intelligent, interesting and devastating analysis

Fr. Brodrick disposes of Dr. Robertson's charges and innuendoes, which incidently are just as little original as they are true. Even apart from its specific purpose of rebutting old calumnies and correcting new and bad history, Fr. Brodrick's book has independent value : we only wish it were longer and fuller. He deserves a special word of congratulation for the admirable restraint and courteous tone of his refutation. E. J. C.

DIE RUSSISCHE GOTTENLOSEBEWEGUNG. Von Adolf Ziegler. München : Kösel und Pustet. 1932. M.4.50

RELIGION AND COMMUNISM. A Study of Religion and Atheism in Soviet Russia. By Dr. Julius F. Hecker. London : Chapman and Hall. 1933. 8s. 6d.

THESE two volumes cover much the same field, dealing mainly with the religious policy of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party of Russia. But there are some rather marked differences in treatment. As neither author limits himself to a merely descriptive account of facts and developments, but faces the question of the worth of the policy with which he is dealing, the most obvious difference is to be found in their views on religion. That Dr. Hecker has views is obvious ; but their precise nature can hardly be said to be revealed, even though the opening chapter is ostensibly devoted to this question. Indeed this and the second chapter would suggest that, however competent he may be as an observer of Soviet strategy or tactics, we can hardly expect from him any sympathetic understanding of the religious life and sentiments of Old Russia. Dr. Ziegler's standpoint is more definite ; he approaches the consideration of the activities of the Bolsheviks frankly as a Catholic.

Yet while Dr. Ziegler never hesitates to appraise the Soviet policy and work, and while the expression of his judgment never lacks vigour, this does not prevent him giving a well-authenticated and true account of Russian religious policy in its different phases. Perhaps the least satisfying portion of the book is that which deals with Bolshevist Philosophy—but for this the author may well plead that he is not to blame. This, however, is but introductory and when we reach the main subject matter we have a convincing picture of the policy and activity of the all-dominant Party and the Government subservient thereto. The development of that policy is clearly traced, as are the intensification of the campaign and the damping down of the cruder persecution due to tactical considerations. His warning is always quite useful to those interested in Russian affairs, that it is at times,

in this as in every other sphere of Soviet activity, exceedingly difficult to distinguish between project and performance. The chief organisations for the war on God, the various affiliated bodies, the weapons on which they rely, the various kinds of propaganda, all receive full and penetrating examination. The author certainly does not run the danger of being deceived by the claim often put forward that there are no laws in accordance with which believers as such may be punished for their religious tenets and practices ; he brings out quite clearly that under the head " counter-revolutionary " the limits and scope of actual persecution can be extended at will in accordance with the needs or dominant prejudices of the moment of the Party Leaders—anything can be made " counter-revolutionary."

Many of the chapters in Dr. Hecker's book may be regarded as introductory to the main theme—and though their usefulness in helping to explain the advent and acceptance of Bolshevism is hardly evident, they will be found interesting, as they supply a considerable amount of information about the history of ideas in pre-Revolutionary Russia. The chapters on the religious views of some of the masters of Russian literature do not perhaps contain much that is particularly new, but they make valuable information accessible to the general reader. One problem is raised by both Dr. Ziegler and Dr. Hecker : how far can we regard Bolshevism as a peculiarly Russian product and how far does it possess a more universal character. Is it even an importation from Western Europe ? No one-sided answer can be given to this question, and certainly neither of our authors provides the material for a conclusive and definite answer.

Dr. Hecker makes an effort to explain the Revolutionary and Bolshevik hostility to religion. This point of view or purpose may explain the author's adoption of a rather critical attitude to the old religion ; but it seems to me that he has allowed himself to go much too far in this direction. As a result, whilst it would be untrue to say that he sympathises fully with the atheistical movement, he certainly shows complete lack of sympathy for the Orthodox Church, while there is hardly a mention of the Catholic Church, notwithstanding its importance even in Russia and the persecution of which it has been the victim. But though at times he makes demands on our credulity and displays a simple naiveté in face of Bolshevik policy, many of the essentials of the anti-religious campaign are brought out.

J. M. O'S.

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LOEWENTHAL, MAX. Life and Soul. (Allen & Unwin, 8/6).
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(The list of books from M to Z has been unavoidably held over for the next issue).

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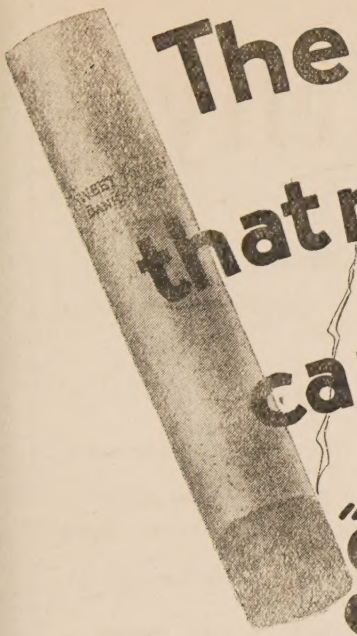

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